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आभीर

हरिराम जोशी

विश्व इतिहासको अध्ययन क्रममा अनेकौं जातिहरूका अस्तित्व कायम हुनुको अतिरिक्त समयको प्रवाहमा तिनीहरू विलुप्त भई गएका उदाहरणहरू अत्यधिक मात्रामा भेट्टिएका छन् । उदाहरणको रूपमा प्राचीनतम जातिहरू मध्येका हूण, यूहेची, ससानियन आदि जातिहरूको अहिले कुनै नामोनिशान पाउनु दुर्लभ भइसकेको छ । यस्तै प्राचीन जातिहरूमध्ये आभीर पनि एक रहेको छ । यसैले इतिहासमा यस जातिको खास स्थान रहेको छ भन्दा कुनै अत्युक्ति हुँदैन ।

आभीरहरूको प्राचीनता हामी सर्वप्रथम ऋग्वेदमा पाउँछौं । गिल्गमिशपछि विश्वका सर्वप्राचीन ग्रन्थको रूपमा मानिएको ऋग्वैदिकऋचाहरूमा आभीरहरू गाई गोठालाहरूका रूपमा वर्णन गरिएका छन् । ऋग्वेद १०, १६ का ऋचालाई यहाँ यसै सन्दर्भमा लिन सकिन्छ । आभीर जाति पछिसम्म पनि गाई गोठालाकै रूपमा रहेको कुरा अमरकोशको अध्ययनमा स्पष्ट रूपले जानिन्छ । अमरकोशले गोपालकका रूपमा प्रस्तुत गरेका ६ जातिहरूमा एक आभीर पनि रहेको छ । फेरि, तृतीय शताब्दी ई. का नागार्जुन कोण्डा अभिलेखमा "स्वस्ति गोब्राह्मेभ्य" भनी उल्लेख गरिएबाट पनि उक्त तर्क कै पुष्टि हुन्छ । यसरी यस जातिको प्रधान व्यवसाय वैदिक समयदेखि अविच्छिन्न रूपले गोपालन नै रहेको कुरा जानिन्छ । यद्यपि यस जातिको प्रधान व्यवसाय गोपालन रहेको छ तापनि अनैतिहासिक कालदेखि नै यो जातिले राज्यासनमा रही शासन चलाउँदै आएको कुरा महाकाव्य ग्रन्थबाट स्पष्ट रूपले थाहा पाउन सकिन्छ । महाभारत अनुसार आभीरहरूद्वारा अजेय वीर योद्धा अर्जुन तक पराजित हुनु परेको थियो । यस घटनामा यो जातिको बहादुरी स्पष्ट रूपले परिलक्षित हुन्छ । नेपालका वंशावली अनुसार अनुमानित सातौं शताब्दी ई.पू. मै आभीर वंशले नेपालमा शासन चलाएका थिए । तर, यस कुरोको प्रामाणिकता अहिलेसम्म कुनै पुरातात्त्विक आधारबाट स्थापित हुन सकेको छैन । जे होस्, यी आभीरहरू उपर्युक्त आधारहरूबाट अनैतिहासिक कालदेखिनै राज्यासनमा अवस्थित रही एक बीर जाति भएको कुरा विदित हुन्छ ।

प्राचीन ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीहरूको अध्ययनमा आभीरहरूलाई विदेशी जातिको रूपमा राखेको पनि पाइन्छ । भागवत, स्कन्ध २, अध्याय ४, श्लोक १८ मा कतिपय विदेशी जातिहरूको नाम क्रममा आभीर, किरात आदि जातिहरूलाई पनि सम्मिलित गरी पछि मात्र तिनीहरूलाई वैष्णव धर्ममा दीक्षित गरेको कुरा वर्णित छ—

"किरातहूणान्ध्रपुलिन्दपुल्कसा
आभीरकङ्काः यवनाः खसादयः ॥

येऽन्ये च पापा यदुपाश्रयाश्रया:
शुद्ध्यन्ति तस्मै प्रभविष्णवे नमः ॥१८॥"

—भागवत, स्कन्ध २, अध्याय ४, श्लोक १८

आभीरहरूलाई हेरात र कन्दहारका बीच अवस्थित अविश्चन नामक स्थानका मूल निवासीका रूपमा पनि अनुमान गरिएका छन् जुन युक्तियुक्त लाग्दैन । किनभने ऋग्वेद सप्त सिन्धुतलस्थित भारतीय भूमिमा रचना गरिएको थियो । अनि यस ग्रन्थमा उल्लिखित जाति मुख्य रूपले यहींको जाति हुनुमा सम्भावनाको आधिक्यता हुनु औचित्यप्रदनै लाग्दछ । फेरि पौराणिक अनुश्रुति अनुसार आभीरहरू सातवाहन वंशज: हुन् । अनि सातवाहन अभिलेखहरू विशेष गरी नानाघाट तथा साँचीमा पाइएका छन् तापनि सातवाहनहरू आन्ध्रभृत्यहरू भएको यथार्थतालाई पुराणहरूले पनि स्वीकृति जनाएका छन् । यसर्थ पौराणिक आख्यान अनुसार आभीरहरूको मूल थलो आन्ध्र नै भएको कुरा थाहा हुन्छ । तर, आभीरहरू सातवाहन वंशज: हुन् भन्ने पौराणिक आख्यान युक्तिप्रद भए जस्तो लाग्दैन । माथि वर्णित भइसकेको छ कि आभीर जातिको अस्तित्व वैदिक कालमै पाइएको छ भो उनीहरू गोपालक हुन् । तर, सातवाहन भनिने आन्ध्रवासीहरू ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थ अनुसार अनार्य थिए जुन पछि गएर ब्राह्मणत्वमा परिणत भएका थिए । पुराणहरूले आभीरहरू पनि आन्ध्रवासीहरू जस्तै वैदिक जाति भएको भो तिनीहरूको जातित्व पनि शूद्रतरमा रहेको पाइनुको अतिरिक्त सम्भवत: तिनीहरू एक दोश्रोको निकटस्थ बस्ने जाति हुँदा तिनीहरूको जातिगत सम्बन्ध दर्शाएको हुनु धेरै सम्भव छ । यो निश्चय छ कि बौद्ध ग्रन्थ 'मज्झिमनिकाय' को एसुकारि-सुत्तमा कृषि, गोरक्ष जस्ता कार्यहरूलाई वैश्य वर्णका स्वधन मानिएका छन् । आभीरहरू शूद्र रहेको तथ्यको पत्तो महाभारत, पटञ्जलिकृत महाभाष्य तथा अमरकोशबाट स्पष्ट रूपले थाहा पाउन सकिन्छ । महाभारत अनुसार आभीरहरूको मूल थलो अपरान्त रहेको छ भो तिनीहरू शूद्र रहेका छन् । प्रथम शताब्दी ई.पू.का पटञ्जलीकृत महाभाष्यमा पनि तिनीहरूलाई शूद्रकै रूपमा लिइएको छ भो ऐ ऐतिकृत संस्कृत-अंग्रेजी कोशमा आभीर नाममा प्रयुक्त महाशूद्री शब्दले शूद्र वर्णमा तिनीहरूको उच्च स्थान रहेकोतिर स्पष्ट रूपले इङ्गित गरेको छ । यसरी आभीरहरू शूद्र वर्णका हुनामा कुनै खास शङ्का भएको देखिदैन । यी आधारहरूबाट आभीरहरू विदेशी जाति हुन् भन्ने कुराको यकीन जानकारी मिल्छ ।

यद्यपि यो निश्चय छ कि आभीरहरू शूद्र जातिका भए तापनि माथि वर्णन गरिए अनुरूप तिनीहरू अनैतिहासिक कालदेखि सातौं शताब्दी ई० सम्म समय-समयमा राजकाजमा सम्मिलित हुँदै आएको स्पष्ट रूपले देखिन्छ । तिनीहरूले भट्टारक महाराज भई समय समयमा शासन चलाएको कुरा नेपाल तथा भारतीय इतिहासको अध्ययनमा स्पष्टत: थाहा हुन्छ । ई. सन् १८१ को गुण्डा अभिलेखमा रुद्रसिंह प्रथमको समयमा आभीर सेनापति नायकका छोरा रुद्रभूतिलाई आभीर सेनापतिको रूपमा उल्लेख गरिएको छ । ई० सन् २७८ को नागार्जुन कोण्डा अभिलेखमा आभीर वसुषेण राजाको रूपमा आसीन रहेको देखिन्छ । आभीरहरूको राज्य भारतमा चारौं शताब्दी ई. सम्म पनि कायमै रहेको तथ्य चारौं शताब्दी ई. को चन्द्रवल्ली शिलाभिलेखबाट स्पष्ट रूपले थाहा पाउन सकिन्छ । गुप्त सम्राट समुद्र गुप्तको इलाहाबाद स्तम्भ लेखबाट उक्त सम्राटले नौ वटा गणराज्यहरूको शक्तिलाई ध्वस्त पारेका थिए भन्ने कुरा जानिन्छ । उक्त नौ गणहरूमध्ये आभीर गण पनि एक रहेको छ । जसको कारण पनि पछि उत्तर प्राचीनकालीन नेपालमा पञ्चायती व्यवस्थामा आधारित राजतन्त्र स्थापित हुनमा सघाऊ पुग्न गएको थियो । किनभने उत्तरप्राचीनकालीन नेपालको राजनीतिक क्षितीजमा साँचो मानेमा भन्ने हो भने प्राचीन गणतान्त्रिक परिपाटीमा हुर्केका आभीरहरूको प्रभाव स्पष्टतया प्रतिविम्बित भएको छ । यसमा कुनै शङ्का छैन ।

गोपाल वंशावली अनुसार, वसन्तदेव पछि भो शिवदेवको राज्यारोहणसम्मका अवधि नेपालमा आभीरहरूले तीन पुस्तासम्म राज्य गरेका थिए । जुन कुरो अभिलेखको

आधारमा सत्यप्रद भए जस्तो लाग्दैन । यस अनुपरमका छोरा आभीर भीमगुप्त संवत् ४७९ देखि ५१२ सम्म वत्स-मयका तीन लिच्छवि राजाहरूको राज्यका हर्ताकर्ता भएका थिए । जसको कारण वंशावलीकारले भ्रमवश तीन पुस्ता-सम्म नेपालमा आभीरहरूले शासन चलाएको कुरा उल्लेख का थिए । भीमगुप्तको पहिलो उल्लेख संवत् ४६२ को पशुपतिको अभिलेखमा आएको थियो । यिनी संवत् ५१२ सम्म उत्तरप्राचीनकालीन राजनीतिका कर्णधार स्वरूप रहेको कुरा उक्त संवत्को बुढानीलकण्ठको अभिलेखले प्रमा-णित गरेको छ । सम्भवत संवत् ५१२ देखि ५१५ को बीच लिच्छवि राजा शिवदेव तथा भीमगुप्तको बीचमा सत्ताको लागि संघर्ष भएर केही समयको लागि लिच्छवि राज्यसत्ता आभीर भीमगुप्तको अधिनस्थ हुन गएको अनुमान हुन्छ । ध्रुवदेव जिष्णुगुप्तकालीन केवलपुरका अभिलेख तथा संवत् ६७ का कठमाडौं यङ्गालहिटीका अभिलेखका पंक्तिहरूको अध्ययनमा उपर्युक्त अनुमानको पुष्टि भएको लाग्दछ । तर, पछि भट्टारक महाराज श्री शिवदेवले अंशु-वर्माको सहायताले आभीर भीमगुप्तको शक्तिलाई ध्वस्त गरी आफ्नो पैत्रिक राजगद्दीलाई पुनः हस्तगत गर्न सफल भएका थिए । आफ्ना अभिलेखहरूमा शिवदेवले अंशुवर्मा-लाई दिगन्तरसम्म कीर्ति फैलिएको तथा शत्रुलाई नाश गर्ने भनी उल्लेखबाट उक्त अभियानमा भट्टारक महाराज श्री शिवदेवलाई अंशुवर्माको सहयोग मिलेको कुराको अनु-मानमा टेवा पुग्न गएको छ । आभीर भीमगुप्तको पतन पछि भट्टारक महाराज श्री शिवदेव स्वयंले नै अंशुवर्माको पनि सहयोग नलिई केही समयसम्म शासन चलाउन लागे-को कुराको पत्तो चम्पापुरस्थित उत्तरप्राचीनकालीन अभिलेखमा शिवदेव वाहेक भीमगुप्त र अंशुवर्मा दुवैका नाम उत्कीर्ण नगरिएबाट हुन्छ ।

उत्तरप्राचीनकालमा आभीरवंशी श्री जिष्णुगुप्त नेपाल-को राज्यासनमा आसीन भएको कुरा तत्कालीन अभिलेख एवं मुद्राको अध्ययनमा स्पष्टतः थाहा पाउन सकिन्छ । जिष्णु अंकित मुद्राको प्राप्तिको साथै पशुपतिस्थित कामदेवको मूर्तिको पादपीठ लेखको प्राप्तिले आभीरवंशी श्री जिष्णुगुप्तले लिच्छवि राजा श्री भीमार्जुन देवलाई राज्यासनबाट हटाई स्वयम् नेपालाधिपति भएको कुरा थाहा हुन्छ । तर, जिष्णुगुप्त पछि उत्तरप्राचीनकालीन नेपालमा आभीर कुलका कसैले राज्यासनमा आसीन भई शासन चलाउन सकेको कुरा कुनै पनि पुरातात्त्विक आधारले अहिलेसम्म पुष्टि गर्न सकेको छैन । यद्यपि यो निश्चय छ कि जिष्णुगुप्तका छोरा विष्णुगुप्त उत्तरप्राचीनकालीन नेपालको राजनीति-का शक्तिशाली व्यक्तित्व भएको कुरा संवत् ६४ को भृङ्गा-रेश्वर तथा संवत् ६५ को यङ्गलहिटीका अभिलेखहरूबाट विदित हुन्छ ।

उत्तरप्राचीनकालीन नेपालमा आभीरहरूको घना वस्ती रहेको थियो । भक्तपुर ठिमीस्थित एक अभिलेखमा पल्ली शब्दको प्रयोग पाइएको छ । अमरकोशमा घोष आभीर पल्लीस्यात् भनी उल्लेख भएकोले पल्ली भन्ने स्थान घोष, आभीरहरूको वासस्थल भएको कुरा जानिन्छ । जसबाट त्यस समय ठिमीमा आभीरहरूको घनावस्ती भए-को कुरा प्रकाटित हुन्छ । उत्तरप्राचीनकालीन नेपालका आभीरहरू गोमी जातका थिए । यस कुरोको पत्तो संवत् ५९ को थानकोटको अभिलेखबाट हुन्छ । त्यस अभिलेखमा आभीर श्री जिष्णुगुप्तले श्री मानगुप्त गोमीलाई आफ्ना प्रपितामह भनी सम्बोधन गरिएको कुरा वर्णित छ जस-बाट गामी पनि आभीरहरूका विभिन्न जाति मध्ये एक भएको कुरा निर्णित हुन्छ । यहाँनेर यस तथ्यलाई विसँनु हुँदैन कि छैठौं शताब्दी ई. को नेपालमा गोमीहरू ब्राह्मण पनि रहेका थिए । अनुमानित छैठौं शताब्दी ई. को पशुपति आर्यघाटको अभिलेखले यस तथ्यतिर निर्देश गरेको छ । अभिलेखका पंक्तिहरू निम्नानुसार छन्—

> "ॐ संवत् ४५२ ..... सर्व्वदण्डनायक पादानुध्यातो (ध्यातेन) ब्राह्मणपुण्यगोमिना स्वपुण्याप्यायनाय पार्थिव शिला स्थापिता धान्यपिण्डकमा"

भीमगुप्त, जिष्णुगुप्त, विष्णुगुप्त आदि आभीरहरू-द्वारा राखिएका कृतिहरू अत्यधिक मात्रामा वैष्णव धर्म-सित सम्बन्धित छन् । यसलाई तिनीहरूको गोपालक वासु-

देवसितको वंशानुगत संबन्धको कारण स्वरूप मात्र सकिन्छ। गोपाल वंशावली अनुसार आभीरवंशी श्री भीमगुप्तले भगवान् विष्णुसित सम्बन्धित धरणिवराहको स्थापना गरेका थिए। धुंवराह मूर्तिको अनुमानित निर्माण समय औ धरणिवराह शब्दसित यसको शाब्दिक तादात्म्यले पनि यो मूर्ति भीमगुप्त कै कीर्ति भएको अनुमान हुन्छ। भट्टारक महाराज श्री जिष्णुगुप्तको थानकोटको अभिलेखमा जलशयन विष्णुको उल्लेख आएको तथा तिनका केवल पुर्खा अभिलेख भगवान् विष्णुसितै सम्बन्ध राख्ने हुँदा उनी वैष्णव भक्त भएको कुरा जानिन्छ। यद्यपि यो निश्चय छ कि तिनले आफ्नो प्रशस्तिमा पशुपति शब्द व्यवहृत गर्नुको अतिरिक्त तिनका पशुपति क्षेत्रस्थित अभिलेखहरूबाट शैव धर्ममा पनि तिनको झुकाव रहेको विदित हुन्छ। छैठौं शताब्दी ई. देखि पशुपति नेपालका सर्वप्रसिद्ध तथा सर्वमान्य देवता भएको औ तिनमा निहित धार्मिक सहिष्णुताको भावनाले गर्दा पनि तिनले जनभावनालाई उक्त प्रकारका कार्यहरूबाट कदर गरेको कुराको अनुमान हुन्छ। भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज श्री भीमार्जुनदेव—विष्णुगुप्तको समयका यङ्गालहिटी तथा भृङ्गारेश्वरका अभिलेखहरूमा जलशयन विष्णुका विशाल मूर्तिको निर्माणको लागि शिलाकर्षण ल्याइदिए वापत तत् तत् स्थानका वासिन्दाहरूलाई निगाह गरेको वर्णनले पनि उक्त आभीरहरूको गोपालक वासुदेव कृष्णसितको वंशानुगत सम्बन्ध रहो तिनीहरू आभीर शुद्र नै भएको कुरा प्रमाणित भएर उत्तरप्राचीनकालीन नेपालमा शुद्रहरूका पनि यहाँ शासन स्थापित भएको यथार्थताको पत्तो हुन्छ। यसरी उत्तरप्राचीनकालीन नेपालमा आभीर शुद्रको अतिरिक्त आभीर ब्राह्मणहरू पनि भएको कुरा सिद्ध हुन्छ।

माथि वर्णन भइसकेको छ कि आभीरहरू शुद्र वर्णमा उच्च जातिका थिए। यद्यपि यो निश्चय छ कि वैदिक समय शुद्रहरू कुनै नीच वर्णका नमानिएर सामाजिक स्थिरताका चार आधारमध्ये एक अत्यावश्यक आधार स्वरूप मात्र लिइएका थिए। ऋग्वेद, दशम मण्डलको पुरुष शुक्तमा अन्य वर्णहरू सरह शुद्र पनि उही विराट पुरुषकै शरीरका अंग दर्शाइएबाट उक्त तथ्यको पत्तो हुन्छ। मनुस्मृति १,९१ अनुसार शुद्रका कार्य त्रिवर्ण-ब्राह्मण, क्षेत्री, वैश्यको सेवा गर्ने भए तापनि महाभारतले तिनीहरूलाई कृषिको अतिरिक्त व्यापार गर्ने आज्ञा दिएको छ। मज्झिम निकाय ग्रन्थ अनुसार शुद्रका स्वधन दाउरा काट्ने आदि रहेको छ। यसरी शुद्रहरू प्राचीनकालमा अस्पृश्य जाति हैन भन्ने कुरा विदित हुन्छ। वरु तिनीहरू अन्य वर्ण सरह नै समान मानिन्थे। श्री मद्भागवत पुराणको अध्ययनमा यस तथ्यको स्पष्ट झल्को पाइन्छ।

उत्तरप्राचीनकालीन नेपालको अनन्तलिङ्गेश्वर अभिलेखको अध्ययनमा दास, चाण्डालहरूको पनि तत्समयको नेपालमा अस्तित्व रहेको प्रकटित हुन्छ। दास, चाण्डाल आदि जातिहरू धर्मशास्त्र अनुसार ज्यादै नीच एवं अस्पृश्य तक मानिएका थिए। भगवान् बुद्धले दासहरूलाई भिक्षु हुने तक आज्ञा दिएको थिएन। प्राचीन कालमा ज्यादै नीच मानिने अस्पृश्य जातिहरू निम्न हुन्—चाण्डालः, श्वपचः, क्षता, सूत, वैदेहक, मागध, आयोगः। अंगीरसको अनुसार चाण्डालको पात्रमा राखी पानी खानु शुद्रको लागि मनाही थियो। यसरी शुद्र औ चाण्डाल एउटै नभई शुद्र आभीरहरू उपर्युक्त नीच जातिहरूको अनुपातमा ज्यादै उच्च मानिने कुरा ज्ञात हुन्छ। फेरि, माथि वर्णन गरिए अनुसार आभीर शुद्रहरू प्रागैतिहासिक कालदेखि समय समयमा सातौं शताब्दी ई. सम्म पनि भट्टारक महाराज-सम्म भई आएको कुरा साहित्यिक एवं पुरातात्त्विक आधारहरूबाट जानिएर प्राचीनकालमा शुद्र आभीरहरू अस्पृश्य नीच जाति नभई त्यस समय समाजमा शुद्रहरूका स्तर अरू वर्णहरूको तुलनामा ज्यादै नखस्केको सिद्ध हुन्छ। भीमगुप्तका पिता आभीर अनुपरमका प्रौढ संस्कृतमा रचित वैष्णव धर्मसित सम्बन्धित काव्य कृति हाँडीगाउ गरुड स्तम्भमा उत्कीर्ण गरिएको पाइएबाट अरू वर्णहरू सरहनै आभीर शुद्रहरू पनि त्यस समय राम्रो शिक्षादीक्षा पाउन सक्थे भन्ने कुरा थाहा हुन्छ। यसरी उपर्युक्त सबै आधारहरूबाट ऋग्वैदिक कालदेखि सातौं शताब्दी ई. सम्म अविच्छिन्न रूपले भने जस्तो गरी आफ्ना वंशानुगत व्यवसायलाई कायम गर्दै आफ्नो राजनैतिक, धार्मिक, साँस्कृतिक परम्परालाई सुदृढतम गराउँदै लैजान सकेकोमा यो जातिको वैशिष्ट्य अवश्य स्वीकार्न सकिन्छ।

लिच्छविकालीन दावाकोट

-शङ्करमान राजवंशी

बलम्बु इन्द्रमती खोलाको किनारमा रहेको अंशुवर्मसंवत् १२९ (वि.सं. ७३८) को अभिलेखमा द्वितीय शिवदेवले सरकारी कर्मचारीलाई सम्बोधन गरी पुत्ती नारायणसंग सम्बन्धित दावाकोटमा फलञ्जुविष्टि (कर) नलाग्ने गरी शीताटीद्रङ्गनिवासीलाई भोगचलन गर्ने अधिकार दिएको कुराको बोधार्थ दिइएको उल्लेख छ। जुन दावाकोट पहिलेदेखि राजकुलले लगातार भोगचलन गरी आएको थियो भन्ने कुरा पनि सो अभिलेखमा उल्लेख गरिएको छ। जस्तै—

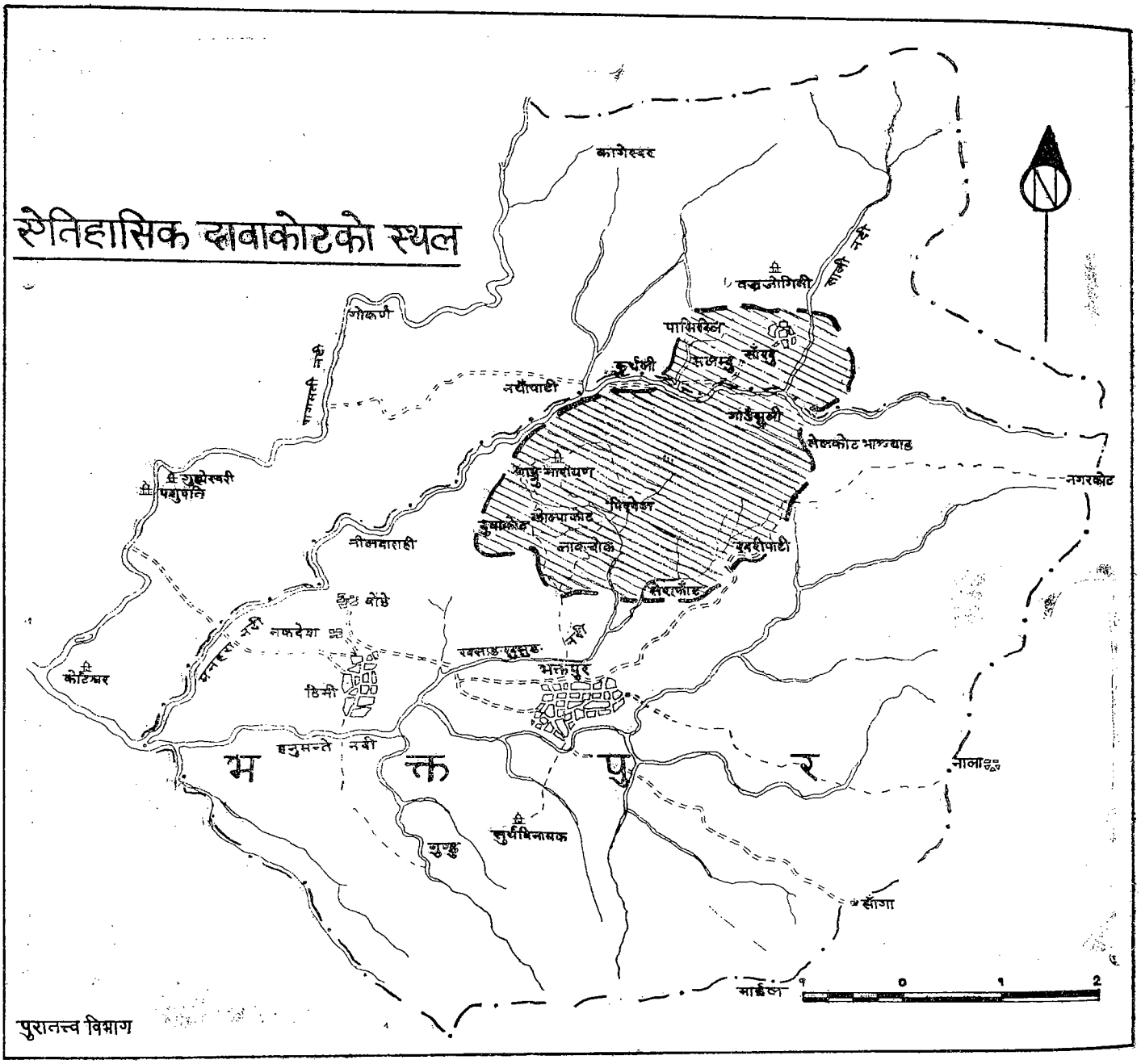
"परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज श्री शिवदेवः कुशली नेपाल भुक्तौ यथास्वमधिकारानधिष्ठितः सर्वराजपुरुषां स्तद्वृत्तिभुजश्च यथार्हङ्कुशलमभिधाय समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां यथा पुत्तीनारायणदेवकुलप्रतिबद्ध दावाकोट्टाभिधानो ग्रामः पूर्व ··· राजकुलेनाविच्छेदक्रमेणोपभुज्यमान इत्यवगम्यास्माभिरिदानीमयङ् ग्रामः कोट्टमर्यादोपपन्नश्चाटभटानामप्रश्येन फलञ्जुविष्ट्या च विनिर्मुक्तः सतलशीताटीद्रङ्गनिवासिनः पालनोपभोगार्थं प्रसादीकृतो"

[ग्राथमा आसम रहेका परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज श्री शिवदेवबाट नेपाल भुक्तिभित्र आफना आफना अधिकारमा रहेका सबै सरकारी अधिकारीहरूलाई र सरकारी वृत्ति खानेहरूलाई पनि यथोचित कुशल मङ्गल सोधेर आज्ञा भएको छ। तिमीहरूलाई थाहा होस्।]

पुत्तीनारायणदेवमन्दिरसंग सम्बन्ध रहेको दावाकोट्ट भन्ने ग्राम पहिले राजकुलद्वारा लगातार भोगचलन गरी आएको भन्ने थाहा पाएर अहिले हामीबाट यो ग्राम कोट्टको स्थिति बन्धेजले युक्त भएको चाटभटले पस्न नपाउने फलञ्जुविष्टि नलाग्ने गरीकन तलसहितको शीताटीद्रङ्गको वासिन्दाहरूलाई हेरचाह र भोगचलनको लागि निगाह गरिएको छ।

(धनवज्रको लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख ५३०–३३ पृष्ठ)

शीताटीद्रङ्ग कहाँ थियो भन्ने बारे निर्देशनको लागि थानकोट आदिनारायण मन्दिरसंग रहेको लिच्छवि संवत् ४२८ (वि.सं. ५४१) को अभिलेखमा वसन्तदेवले आफ्नी बहिनी जयसुन्दरीलाई दिइएको थानकोट भेगको जयपल्लिका ग्रामको एरियाभित्र शीताटी गुल्म परेको र बलम्बु चौकीटारको लिच्छवि संवत् ४८२ (वि.सं. ५९५) को गणदेव भौमगुप्तको अभिलेखमा स्थानीय शीताटीतल टेग्वल ग्रामका वासिन्दालाई सम्बोधन गरी लिग्वल माप्चोक अधिकरण पस्न नपाउने सनद गरिदिएको कुराको उल्लेख हुनाले शीताटीद्रङ्ग थानकोट बलम्बु भेगतिर थियो भन्ने थाहा हुन्छ जसलाई जयपल्लिका ग्रामको


ऐतिहासिक दावाकोटको स्थल
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नीलमाताही
कोटेश्वर
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नक्देया
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बक्तजोगिनी
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सौंयडु
कुर्पाली
नयाँपाटी
गाउँसुली
सेलकोट भाग्यांड
नगरकोट
पाण्डु नारायण
भिमसेन
दुवाकोट
लाक्रोके
खोम्पाकोट
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पुरातत्त्व विभाग

चार किल्लाले पुष्टि गरिदिएको छ ।

बलम्बु इन्द्रमती खोलाको किनारामा रहेको द्वितीय शिवदेवको अभिलेखमा दावाकोटको पहिलेको चार किल्ला दिइएको छ जुन चार किल्लामा पर्ने दावाकोट पहिले-देखि राजकुलले लगातार भोगचलन गरिआएको थियो । सो चार किल्ला यस प्रकार छ—

"सीमा चास्य प्राक्तनी आरामखरप्रदेशे शोभना म्लाम्रवृक्षाद् दक्षिणपश्चिमतः पाण्डुरमृत्तिकास्रोतसश्च दक्षिणपश्चिमेन यावद्धिमनदीस्रोत उत्तीर्य किञ्चिदारुह्य स्वकीयां एव सीमान वेष्टयित्वा गवां लक्ष दानस्था —··· दक्षिणालिकासमीपे आम्र वृक्षस्तत्पश्चिमतो लुल्लुस्रोत समुत्तीर्य दायम्बी गम्पोनदिन्दावाकोट्ट सीमामध्ये त्रि-सन्धिसंज्ञक. प्रदेश स्तस्योत्तरतः पुत्तीनदी तस्या एवोपरि-ष्टाद यावत्पुत्तीयवदुनदीसङ्गमस्तमुत्तीर्य किञ्चिदारुह्य च प्राच्या किशि न चेत्रस्योत्तरतः सीम्नो यावत्सलम्बू-राजवासकस्योत्तरेण न स्रोतो बृहत्शालवृक्षस्तत्पूर्वदक्षि-णतः माषवृक्षस्तत्पूर्वतोपि राजवासके पानीयारोपित एवोपश्चिधि सिस्तीखोट्टचैत्योत्तरेणाम्रपादपस्तत्पूर्वतोपि गोल्लस्रोतसोधस्ताद् यावद् गौतमाश्रमसरित्सङ्गमस्तस्य चाधस्तादुत्थिमनदीसम्वेद्यस्तामवतीर्यारुह्य च दण्डङ्गु बृहत्प-थस्य त्रिसन्धिसंज्ञकात्पश्चिमेनारुह्य किञ्चित्पालणस्य च दक्षिणतो बृहद्वत्तनं तद्दक्षिणतोपि वस्तु चेत्र तस्यैव दक्षिणेन चम्पकवृक्षस्तद्दक्षिणपश्चिमतश्च स एव शोभनाम्लाम्रवृक्ष इत्येत त्सीमान्त पातिन्यस्मिन् ग्रामे',

यस ग्रामको पहिलेको सीमा यस प्रकारको छ —आरामखर भन्ने ठाउँमा राम्रो अमिलो आँपको रूखबाट दक्षिणपश्चिमपट्टि सेतो माटो (कमेरो) को सोतो-बाट पनि दक्षिणपश्चिमपट्टि हिमनदीको सोतो तरी केही उकालो लागी आफ्नै सीमालाई घुमेर आई गाईलाई नून खुवाउन राखिएको ठाउँ को दक्षिण आली साँध नजीकै रहेको आँपको रूख त्यताबाट पश्चिमपट्टि लुल्लु-स तो तरी दायम्बी गम्पोनदिङ् दावाकोट्टको सीमाको बीचमा त्रिसन्धि भन्ने ठाउँ त्यसको उत्तरतिर पुत्तीनदी त्यसको माथितिर पुत्तियवदुनदीको दोभान त्यसलाई तरी केही उकालो लागी पूर्वतिर किशि ···· नखेतको उत्तरतिरको सीमादेखि सलम्बु राजवासको नजीकै उत्तर-तिर न सोतोनिरको ठूलो शालको ···· रूख त्यसको पूर्व-दक्षिणतिर माशको रूख त्यसको पूर्वतिर राजवासमा लगिएको पानीको सोतो उपमिधि सिस्तीखोट्ट खेतको नजीकै उत्तरतिर आँपको रूख त्यसको पूर्वतिर गोल्लसोतो-को तलतिर गौतमाश्रम र खोलाको दोभान त्यसको तलतिर उत्थिमनदी सम्वैद्य त्यसलाई नाघेर उकालो लागी दण्डङ्गुको मूल सडकको त्रिसन्धि भन्ने ठाउँबाट पश्चिमतिरबाट केही उकालो लागी पालणको दक्षिणतिर वस्तु खेत त्यसको नजीकै दक्षिणतिर चाँपको रूख त्यसको दक्षिणपश्चिमतिर त्यही राम्रो अमिलो आँपको रूख । यति चार किल्ला भित्रको यो ग्राममा]

(लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख ५३१-३३ पृष्ठ)

यस चार किल्लामा आरामखर भन्ने ठाउँको अमिलो आँपको रूखदेखि शुरू गरी दावाकोट किल्लाको वरिपरी घुमी त्यही आँपको रूखमा ल्याएर टुंग्याएको छ । यसरी वरिपरीको सीमा बताउँदै लगेको हुनाले ठाउँ पत्ता लगाउन ठूलो आधार मिलेको छ । बलम्बु इन्द्रमती खोलाको किनारमा रहेको अभिलेखमा पुत्तीनारायणसंग सम्बन्धित दावाकोटको उल्लेख हुनाले सो दावाकोट भवाट्ट हेर्दा बलम्बु भेगतिर थियो कि भन्ने देखिन्छ । तर सरकारी कर्मचारीलाई बोध्यार्थ दिइएको अभिलेख हुनाले दावाकोट अन्तै थियो भन्ने पनि हुन सक्छ । किनभने काठमाडौं यङ्गालहिटीको अंशुवर्मसंवत् ६७ (वि.सं. ६७७) को नरेन्द्रदेवको अभिलेखमा नरेन्द्रदेवले मानेश्वर र भुवनेश्वरको हेरचाह गर्न दक्षिणकोलीग्रामद्वङ्गलाई तीन ओटा वित्ता सुम्पिदिदा शिवम्वलदेवमन्दिरको हेरचाह गर्न शीताटीतल पनि सुम्पिदिएको कुरा छ । त्यस कारण उपत्यकाको नक्सा हेरी विचार गर्दा पुत्तीनारायणसंग सम्बन्धित दावाकोट भन्नाले चाँगुनारायण डाँडाको तल रहेको

दुवाकोटलाई पुष्टि गरेको देखिन्छ । पुत्तीनारायण भन्नाले चाँगुनारायणलाई बताएको देखिन्छ । पूत शब्दको पुत्ती-नारायण बनेको होला भन्ने अनुमान हुन्छ । त्यसको अर्थ विचार गर्दा पवित्रनारायण भन्ने देखिन्छ । उक्त नारायणको नैमित्तिक पूजा गरी बचेका पैसाले पशुपतिनाथमा छत्र चढाई त्यस उपलक्ष्यमा राम्रो यात्रा पनि गर्नू भनी उक्त इन्द्रमती खोलाको अभिलेखमा उल्लेख गरेको छ । चाँगुनारायणको वर्षेनी जात्रा पनि चल्ने हुनाले उक्त कुरालाई पुष्टि गर्छ । अब उक्त अभिलेखमा दिइएको चार किल्लाबाट ठाउँको तुलरात्मक विचार गरिन्छ ।

आरामखर भन्ने ठाउँको अमिलो आँपको रूख भन्नाले चाँगुडाँडाको तल पूर्वपट्टि रहेको खरीपाटीलाई पुष्टि गर्दछ । त्यसदेखि दक्षिणपश्चिमपट्टि सेतो माटोको सोतो भन्नाले सेराफाँटलाई पुष्टि गर्दछ । त्यसबाट पनि दक्षिणपश्चिमपट्टि हिमनदी भन्नाले सेराफाँट भई बगेको खोलालाई पुष्टि गर्दछ । त्यो नदी तरी केही उकालो लागी गाईलाई नून खुवाउने ठाउँ आउँछ, त्यसको दक्षिण आली-को साँध पर्छ. त्यताबाट पश्चिमपट्टि लागि लुल्जु सोतो तर्दा दायम्बी गम्पोनुदिङ दावाकोट्टको सीमाको त्रिसन्धि आउँछ भन्नाले लाकचोकबाट बगेर आएको खोला तरी पश्चिम लाग्दा दुवाकोट जाने बाटो लाकचोक जाने बाटो भक्तपुर जाने बाटो यी तीन बाटोको दोभान आउँछ । उक्त त्रिसन्धिले यस दोभानलाई पुष्टि गर्दछ । त्यसको उत्तरतिर पुत्तीनदी र त्यसको माथितिर पुत्तियबहुनदी भन्नाले दुवाकोटबाट झरेको खोला र चाँगुडाँडाबाट झरेको खोलालाई पुष्टि गर्दछ । त्यसको दोभानलाई तरी त्यसको पूर्वपट्टि किशि खेतको सीमा आउँछ भन्नाले चाँगुडाडा र मनहरा संगमसम्म पश्चिम सीमाको जग्गालाई पुष्टि गछ । यो भयो दक्षिणी सीमा ।

अब उत्तर सीमापट्टि सलम्बुवासको नजीकै उत्तर-तिर नदीको सोतोनिरको ठूलो शालको रूख भन्नाले मनहरानदीको माथि रहेको कुर्थलीको पूर्वपट्टि सलम्बु भन्ने ठाउँ छ, सलम्बुवासले त्यसलाई पुष्टि गर्दछ । त्यसको उत्तरतिर नदीको सोतो पनि स्पष्ट देखिन्छ । त्यसको पूर्वदक्षिण लाग्दा राजवासमा लगिएको पानीको सोतो उपमिधि सिस्तीखोट्ट आउँछ भनेको छ । उक्त सिस्ती खोट्ट भन्ने ठाउँले साँखुलाई पुष्टि गर्छ । त्यहाँबाट पूर्वतिर लाग्दा गोल्सं सोतो आउँछ भनेको छ । मनहरा र सालीनदीको दोभानको तलतिर रहेको गौसुली भन्ने ठाउँले गोल्सं सोतोलाई पुष्टि गर्छ । त्यसको तल गौतमाश्रम र खोलाको दोभान आउँछ भन्नाले साली नदी र मन-हराको दोभानलाई पुष्टि गर्छ । त्यसको तल उत्थिम नदीको सगमलाई तरेर उकालो लाग्दा दण्डंगुको मूल सडकको त्रिसन्धि आउँछ भनेको छ । दण्डगुल दोलाद्रि चाँगुडाँडालाई पुष्टि गर्छ । त्यसको माथि रहेको मूल-सडकको त्रिसन्धिले तेलकोटभञ्ज्याङको बाटोलाई पुष्टि गर्दछ । त्यहाँबाट दक्षिण—पश्चिम लाग्दा उही पहिलेको आरामखर भन्ने ठाउँको अमिलो आँपको रूख आउँछ भनेको छ । तेलकोटभञ्ज्याङबाट दक्षिण-पश्चिम-तिर लाग्दा उही खरीपाटो आइपुग्छ । यो कुरो उपत्यकाको नक्सा हेरे स्पष्ट देखिन्छ ।

बलम्बु इन्द्रमती खोलाको किनारामा रहेको द्वितीय शिवदेवको अभिलेखमा उल्लिखित दावाकोटको चार किल्ला-बाट मनहराको दोभानमा गौतमाश्रम थियो भन्ने र साँखुमा राजवास थियो भन्ने थाहा हुन्छ । यहाँ उल्लि-खित राजवासले राजा बस्ने दरबारलाई संकेत गर्दछ । आजसम्म थाहा भएका लिच्छविकालीन राजदरबारहरूमा मानगृह, कैलासकूटभवन, भद्राधिवासभवन छन् । मान-गृह दक्षिणराजकुलमा पर्ने र कैलासकूट हाँडीगाउँमा पर्ने देखिएको छ । त्यस कारण उत्तरपूर्वी थेगमा पर्ने यो राजवासले भद्राधिवासलाई पुष्टि गर्दछ ।

भद्राधिवासभवन लिच्छवि राजा नरेन्द्रदेवले बनाएका हुन् । यस भद्राधिवासभवनको उल्लेख पाटन च्यासल टोलको अंशुवर्मसंवत् ९५ (वि.सं. ७०४) देखि आएको छ । राजा नरेन्द्रदेवले भद्राधिवासभवनबाट आदेश जाहेर गरेका अभिलेखहरूमा अंशुवर्मसंवत् १०३ (वि०-सं० ७१२) सम्मका पाइएका छन् ।

पाटन च्यासलटोल नायहिटीको अंशुवर्म संवत् १३७ (वि०सं० ७४६) ज्येष्ठको अभिलेखमा द्वितीय जयदेवले प्रासादमण्डलभित्रको कोट्टको व्यवस्था गरिदिएको कुरा छ। त्यस कोट्टको पनि चार किल्ला सीमा दिइएको छ। जुन प्रासादमण्डलभित्रको कोट्ट दोलाशिखर (चाँगु) को पूर्वोत्तरमा परेको देखाइएको छ। उक्त प्रासादमण्डलले पनि भद्राधिवासभवनलाई पुष्टि गर्दछ।

चाँगुको प्रथम शिवदेवको अभिलेखमा राजकुलले भोगचलन गरिआएको कोट्ट भन्ने मात्र उल्लेख भएको हुनाले त्यस वेला दरबार बनेको थिएन भन्ने बुझिन्छ। द्वितीय शिवदेवको अभिलेखमा राजवासको उल्लेख र द्वितीय जयदेवको अभिलेखमा प्रासादमण्डलको उल्लेख हुनाले सो उल्लिखित दरबार नरेन्द्रदेवको भद्राधिवास हुनु धेरै संभव छ।

चाँगुनारायणको गरुडको पछाडि रहेको शिवदेव अंशुवर्माको अभिलेखमा शिवदेव प्रथमले स्थानीय गुंदिमक ग्राममा बस्ने मुखिया लगायत गृहस्थीलाई सम्बोधन गरी हाम्रा पुर्खाले रीभ वापत भोगचलन गर्न दिइएको कोट्ट अंशुवर्माको निवेदन अनुसार दक्षिणराजकुल र पुरुडी राजकुलको जग्गासंग सट्टापट्टा गरी सनदपत्र गरिदिएको कुरा छ। जुन कोट्टको चार किल्ला दिइएको सीमाले सांखुभेगलाई देखाएको छ। यस कोट्टले बलम्बु इन्द्रमती खोलाको किनारमा रहेको अभिलेखमा उल्लिखित दावाकोटलाई पुष्टि गरेको छ। किनभने पहिलेदेखि राजकुलले भोगचलन गरिआएको भनी बलम्बु अभिलेखमा जुन उल्लेख गरेको छ, त्यो कुरा चाँगुको गरुडको पछाडि रहेको अभिलेखमा वर्णित कुरासंग ट्याक्क मिल्छ। त्यस कारण पुत्तीनारायणसंग सम्बन्धित दावाकोट भन्नाले चाँगुनारायण डाँडाको तल पश्चिमपट्टि रहेको दुवाकोटलाई पुष्टि गर्दछ।

बलम्बु इन्द्रमती खोलाको द्वितीय शिवदेवको अभिलेखमा यो दावाकोटको सीमा पहिलेको भन्दा ठूलो भइसकेको देखाएको छ। त्यसको सीमा निम्न लिखित वमोजिम दिइएको छ। जस्तै—

"एष च ग्रामः फक्वडङ्ग्रामस्य दक्षिणपश्चिमेन गंग्रोन् दिङ्ग्रामस्यापि पश्चिमोत्तरेण गणिद्रङ्ग्रामस्य चोत्तर पूर्वतो नुपुनग्रामस्यापि दक्षिणपूर्वेणामीषाञ्चतुर्णाङ् ग्रामाणां सीमा सत्वोमालम्बासंज्ञके प्रदेशे समावासयितव्या"

[यो ग्राम फक्वडङ्ग्रामको दक्षिण—पश्चिममा, गंग्रोदिङ्ग्रामको पश्चिमउत्तरमा गणिद्रङ्ग्रामको उत्तरपूर्वमा, नुपुनग्रामको दक्षिणपूर्वमा रहेको छ। यो चार ग्रामको साँध सत्वोमालम्बा भन्ने ठाउँमा टुंग्याउनू।]

(लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, ५३१—३३ पृष्ठ)

यहाँ दावाकोट भन्ने ठाउँ फक्वडङ्ग्रामको दक्षिण-पश्चिममा पर्छ भनेको छ। फुजेल टारको गाउँबाट दुवाकोट दक्षिण-पश्चिम पर्ने हुनाले फक्वडङ्ग्रामले फुजेलटारलाई पुष्टि गर्छ। दावाकोट भन्ने ठाउँ गंग्रोदिङ्ग्रामको पश्चिम उत्तरमा पर्छ भनेको छ। भक्तपुरबाट दुवाकोट पश्चिम-उत्तरमा पर्ने हुनाले गंग्रोदिङ्ग्राम भक्तपुरमा पर्थ्यो भन्ने अनुमान हुन्छ। भक्तपुरमा माषोपृङ् खपुङ आदि ग्राम छन्। दावाकोट भन्ने ठाउँ गणिद्रङ्ग्रामको उत्तर-पूर्वमा पर्छ भनेको छ। गुंदुगाउँबाट दुवाकोट उत्तर पूर्वमा पर्ने हुनाले गणिद्रङ्ग्रामले गुंदुगाउँलाई पुष्टि गर्दछ। दावाकोट भन्ने ठाउँ नुपुनग्रामको दक्षिणपूर्वमा पर्छ भनेको छ। गोकर्णबाट दुवाकोटदक्षिण—पूर्वमा पर्ने हुनाले नुपुनग्राम गोकर्णको आसपासमा पर्थ्यो भन्ने अनुमान हुन्छ। अभिलेखमा दिइएका चार किल्लाका नामहरूमा कतिपय नाम मिल्दो किसिमले पाइएको हुनाले दावाकोट भन्ने किल्ला भक्तपुर जिल्लामा थियो भन्ने देखिन्छ जसको साँध सीमा खाँखुसम्म पुगेको छ। त्यसभित्र कोल्पाकोट गजरकोट चण्डकोट आदि कोटहरू थिए। अद्यापि तत्स्थानको नाम उक्त कोटको नामले बोलिन्छ। त्यस सीमा भित्र डुमाखाल भन्ने ठाउँ छ। त्यस डुमाखालको आसपासमा ध्याल्वुडोल भन्ने ठाउँछ। तिब्बती भाषामा ध्याल्वु भनेको राजधानीलाई भन्दछन्। त्यहाँ भग्नावशेषहरू उपलब्ध हुनाले त्यसले पनि प्राचीन दरबार थियो भन्ने पुष्टि गर्छ।

ऐतिहासिक पत्रस्तम्भ

श्रीः

इरानको षवर फतेलि साहा नाती मदलीसाहले आफ्ना भाई काकाहरूसंग लडि आफू वादशाह भया उनैले आफ्नु इल्चिषधारवालासंग पठादाथ्या पठाउनाको मतलव षंधारवालादेखि हेराजवाला·····डराउंथ्या. इन्को हाम्रो दोस्ती····देषि हेराज सहजै फत्ये हाम्रो हुदो हो ····फताघरवे वंदोवस्त हुनाले फिर गया भन्या षवर सुनिछ पछि जो विस्तार बुझियेला सो माफिक लेषि चह्राई पठाउला—— — — — —

श्री

श्री कम्पांडि जनरल

अजि — — — — — — — उप्रान्त फागुन सुदि १ रोज ७ मा लेखि वक्स्याको सिद्धापत्र ये सुदि ८ रोज ७ मा नुवाकोट आइपुग्य विस्तार हरप हरप पढो सीर चढाञ्यौं येस तर्फका षवर ——१—— दाज्यैज्यूका हजुर चढाई पठाथाको विन्ति पत्रबाट विस्तार बुझनु भयो होला भन्या ईत्यादि लेषी वक्स्याको अर्थ हजुरबाट—साहेवका हजुरमा लेषीवक्स्याको पत्रबाट विस्तार बुझी सीर चढाञ्यौं डोटीको जुडा मल्लले डोटीबाट यस तर्फ आउंदा बाटामा आफ्ना आषाले देख्याको र सुन्याको षरवको तपसीलको कागज र सर्दार हस्तवीर साहांले फागुन सुदि १० रोज २ मा मलाई पठायाको षवर लेषि चढाई पठायाको छ हजुरमा दाषिल होला औ येस फौजमा गलवा कुरा यस्तो गर्दा रह्याछन हाम्रो वेगम् साहेव येहि रहंछोन हामी ४ डिविजन मै गोरखपुर लुटन जांछौं भंदा रह्याछन् लेषदा हरप तल-माथी पन्याको माफ वक्स्पा जाला— — —

श्रीः

श्री हरीद्वार श्री द्वारीका श्री बद्री केदार

मातवरसि थापाका साथक मानिस चाम्पा घर्ति लाहुरबाट आयाको रहेछ र तेसले मुष जामान कह्याका षवरको फर्द उप्रान्त आषाडको ११ दिन जादा म लाहुर बाट हिड्याथ्या उसवेलामा रंजितसिंलाई साह्रै विराम भयाको थियो. तेहि वेलामा. आफ्नु गादि हुकुम मोहर छाप खड्गसिंलाई सोंप्याथ्या. तिमिले आजसम्म गरी आयाको काम गर्नु भनि राजा ध्यानसिंलाई हुकुम दि षड्ग सिंलाई राजा ध्यानसिंको वांहा पक्राई. जो कामकाज आजसम्म तिमिले गर्याको थियो सो काम तिमिले आफ पनि गर्नु पर्याछ भनी षड्गसिं.ले पनि राजा ध्यानसिं.लाई भन्याथ्यां. नौन्यालसिं. पेसोर गयाका थिया आफुलाई विराम हुँदा चाँडो आउनु भनि हुकुम दि विच विचमा

डाक रारुयाको थियो ७ दिनमा आई पुरुछन् भन्या षवर थियो आईपुग्याका थिएनन् म आउन्यः वेलामा विराम भन्या साह्रै थीयो वाक्य पनि चल्दैन थियो उस्तैमा पनि सवारि गराउँदै थीया. सवारिमा अर्जुन थापाले रंजित सिं. ईनि हुन भनि मलाई पनि देषाया थ्यां. म जगा धरि आइपुग्यापछि वेलासराईलाई आपना गुमस्ताले. रंजितसिं हक भया भन्या षवरको चिठी लेख्याको रहेछ र सो चिठी वेलासराइले मलाई पनि वाचि सुनायाथ्यां. हक भयाको साचैंहो ४ रानि ७ केटि सहगामिनि भया भन्या षवर थियो. म गड आइपुग्या पछि ३ पल्टन सिंहका २ पल्टन अगरेजका जमा ५ पल्टनले अस्तु र चिताको भस्म ————मा पुऱ्याउन ल्याया भन्या षवर सुनिथ्यो अंगरेजले पुरानु षदारको किल्ला लियो किल्लामा रह्याको १ सर्दार भागी कबिल् गयो १ सर्दार भागी अगरेजसंग आयो दुरानिले भन्या अंगरेजका लस्करमा र. लस्करमा जान्या रषत षर्च जानामा वरोवर डाक हाँदैछ. डांकमा अंगरेजको लस्कर पनि धेरै पऱ्यो भनि सुनिथ्यो सिषले पनि ७ हज्जार फौज अंगरेजलाई मद्दत दि. षैवरको घाटिको वाटो लाइरषेछ काविलसित भन्या आफ जोरिया-को थिएन भन्यो षवर ल्याथाको रहेछ. मातवरसिं थापा-लाई छोडि त क्या काम आईस भनी सोध्या—२——का जांछु भनि विदा भयाको हुँ——२——तरफ धेरै षदवड देषियो र——२———को दर्शन गरि घर जान आज्ञा भंछ. यो भन्या अधि मातवरसिं थापाको कमारो रहेछ पछि पार भै धर्ति भयाको रहेछ २/३ दिन आहा वसि. मेरो घर पोषरा हो घर जांछु भनि आहाबाट हिड्या १ शुभं— — — — — —

स्वस्ति श्री सर्वोपमा योग्य सकल गुण निधान सर्वो-परि विराजमान आभा समुद्र महिमा सुमेर धर्म्मावतार राजाधिराज श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री सुरेन्द्र विक्रम शाह महाराजाधिराजेषु वे परवाहि पहलवान गिरक्ष्वा नमो नारायणः सहुल्ल शंतु प्रामस्त्य भवतां वांछामः डोरवा गदलथापा विष्णु थापा गरनयल मंत्री गरजं वहादुर मुखिया वहादुर विष्णु वहादुर वन्द्री कियार वहादुर तानसैन ईन सर्वोको नमोनारायण होवै इन समोको हम जानते है जेर वहुत देरते हम आगाये दूसरे अंगरेजी राज मै हंय एक तालाव त्यार होनेवाला है दो हयार २००० रूपैयां लागत लगति है अरई समुलख मै रूपैया नहि मिलता इस वास्ते आपके पास चिठी भेजी है कि उ कि आप धर्म मूर्ति अरस भको खवर रखने वाले होका वाहं सविनँ नदी जल विणा माता विनायाचका तरवर फल विना भ्राता स्नेह विना दुग्धं विना धेनु १: योगी मंत्र विहुन वेदं विना ब्राह्मण राजा-निति विना दानं नपुण्यंम् एतेक पुत्रौ है राजा चरनोमै, जीवन अट अंगरेजने मदत दिई है अर जंबु देशका अर नामा अरपट आला और देशोके राजपाको चिठीया भेजगइहै इसमकी मदत है अर आपको मदत चाहिये,

वावाजी काशीजीके रहने वाले है डोर इस जगा किसीको पताही ७१ हमे आयाको होगये २ वरसकला समै रहे फेर निलकंठ महादेवके रहोस अवस्थारपुरमै रहते है इस वास्ते आपको दो हयार रूपैया लिखा है आप समसे सिरोमणि धर्म स्वरूप हो धर्म कार्य विशे-धर्म्मात्मा मदत देतेहै आप सर्वसामर्थ्य हो इस तालावके ऊपर करीव २५,००० पच्चीस हयार लागत आवेगी फागुण मासको अवतार लगेगी शुभं ७४ नसान पता ह मारा मुलख पंजाव सहर जिला होस्यारपुर ठाणा माहल-पुर तपसील गढसां करगोयद पुरमै ७४,

दोर्जलिङ् जान्य सिपाहीहरूले मुषजमान् गऱ्याको विस्तारको फर्द उप्रान्त हामी आहाबाट गै दोर्जलिङ्मा पुग्दा केमल साहेव दोर्जलिङबाट षर्सान गढी गयाको रहेछ र लाप्च्याको आलमाल वही दोर्जीलिङ्मा थम्क्याई षतली षर्शान गढो गै साहेवलाई षत् सोपिई मक्दिन

वाहिर काम भयो: पल्टपल्ट केमल साहेव पनि दोर्जलिङ आया हामीहरू पनि आई लाप्च्याको आलमाल सवै बुझाई दोर्जलि आया ३दिन पछि षतको जवाब् पनी दियो मालको रसिद पनि दिया र हामी आयौं केमल साहेबले आजकल दोर्जलिङ्मा पक्कि घर बनाउनलाई भींगटी ईट गार्न लाउन लागिरहेछ मानको भन्या केही ठगाना भयाको रहेन छ । हाल हुकुम भन्या सबै केमल साहेबले गर्दोरहेछ देशमा वन्याको काठको भयालको दारपात् कलकत्ताबाट उत्तारि ल्याइ राषेछ ४ कोठी वन्यछ भनी भथ्या वन्याको भन्या छैन ठाउ भन्या हेरि जाचिराष्याको छ पहादीया सिपाहीको कंपनी १ तोप् २ पनी पैषाबारिमा ल्याई राष्याको छ भनि भन्थ्या षर्सान गढी नजिक माहानंदमा यक चित्राको छाना हालीकन १ मुंडाघर ई दुई घरमा गिराफ गोला राख्याको छ आजकाल फेरि आयाका साहेवहरू येक कर्णेल येक कप्तान थपी षर्सान गढीको सटक बनाउन लागिरहेछ आजकाल दोर्जलिङ्मा केमल साहेव १ डाकदर साहेव १ कर्णेल लायड् साहेव कप्तानसाहेव १ बस्याको छ लायेद साहेव र आफ्ना पल्टन भयाको ठाउंमा पश्चिमतिर जांछ भंथ्यो दोर्जलिङ्मा रहन्या पहाडिया सिपाही पट्टी १ जमादार समेत छ दोर्जलिङ्मा वसि. केमल साहेव. डाकदर साहेव समेत ४ जना साहेब दोर्जलिङ्मा कोठी बनाउन्या काममा वसिरह्याछन: पहाडीया सिपाही हेरू ताहा जो जो जान्याहेरूलाई भर्ना गदैछ: यो साल भन्या पश्चिमतिर पनि पल्टन जादैछन: वह्रातिर पनि पल्टन् १गयो यो साल भन्या लडाई हुन्या छैन: आगेसाल भन्या होलाकि भन्या भै लाग्छ भनि: केमल साहेवका चाकरहरू पोर हिउदमा संगसग आउंदा चिनारि पवारि भयाको थियो र देशका हाल सुरत् कैसाहै. मनि सोधपुछ गर्दा यो कुरा गऱ्यो साँचो झुटो र कसोहो सुन्याको विस्तार गर्न्या हो भनि विस्तार गऱ्याको हो भनि कह्यो शुभम्— — — —

श्री

पंजाबको हाल पौषको

मंसीरको २२ दीन जादा पहिला लडाञ्चो फेरू सहर्मा १२ हजार फौज लो. मुक्तयार लालसिं दोश्रा तेजासिं तेश्रो भक्तराम बक्सी दिनानाथ दिवान्ले किल्ला काम-डामा ४ हजार आपना लस्करलाई धर्ना दी किल्लाबाट बाहार निकाल्या अंग्रेजको ठाना बसाल्या अमीकराईका मामा ध्यान सिं इनका मामा जोहार सिं येतिले निमक हलालि गऱ्या इनले पुरानु बजीरलाई निकाली दियाध्यानसिंको छोरा जोहार सिं इनका जेठा बाबा गुलाब सिं इनिहरूलाई प्रमाना नदि भताभङ्ग पाऱ्या फेरि लालसिंले फौजको नास गर्नलाई परेजपुरमा पल्टन चढायो जतिभरि फौज थियो तत्तिभरि फौज परेजपुरमा चढायो लडाञ्चीमा जान्या कर्नेल गैह्र फोजलाई लालसिंले हुकुम दियन् आफ्नै फोजलाई मार्नुपर्छ तोप नचलाउनु यति काम गऱ्यौ भन्या मुलुक रहन्या छ उस्तै हामीलाईपनि अंग्रेजीले दिन्यैछ. वुतकी सहरमा घोड् चढाउको मालिक श्याम सिं अटारिवाला पंजाप्भरिका सर्दारमा वही लडयो इनका साथमा ५० हजार सवार र तोप्खानाको मालिक मेवासिं जर्नेल मजिट वाला जिनिसि तोप वालाको मालीक मष्षेषा जर्नेल स्याम रजवस्को ईश्वरी प्रसाद कर्नेल. यतिले लडाञ्ची गऱ्या घोड् चढाको मालीक गंडाई कुंजेवाला यस्का साथका सवारी भर सवमऱ्या १५ हजार फोज षचँ मयो फिलिंगिको फौज ३० हजारले सिंहको ३ सये तोप २० हजार जमोरा ४० हजार घोडा ३५ हजार वयेल् ८० हजार वन्दुक यति लुटिजिया ताहापछि तेजासिं सर्दारले सतरुद्रामा पुलवाध्या र अघि लस्कर लग्राई पछि जिनिसि तोप ८ छादि गुलाब सिं वाहेक जति भयाका लस्कर पारिराषिकन अटालिवाला श्यामसिं लडयो फौजलाई रसघ वंध गऱ्यो फौज षानावार माऱ्या आफ्ना लस्करलाई जिनिसि ८ तोपमा गोलंदाज सिपाहि तयार गरि राष्या फेरि पुल तोडयो सिपाहि बारिको वारि पारिको पारिरह्यो अंग्रेजीले पारिबाट हान्यो वारिबाट तेजासिंले गिराफ लगाई तोपले लस्करलाई मऱ्या कोही

गयामा वग्या कोही अंग्रेजीले मान्या सर्दार अंग्रेजीसित मिलि लस्करको नास गऱ्या. येस बखत्को बात्साही भन्या पनि वजीर भन्या पनि लारन्छ. तंडा लाठ आई वस्याको छ. वस्दोवस्त केहि भयाको छैन. सबै सर्दार अंग्रेजका कमसलमा आया येक गुलावसि जिमु वाला आयाको छैन अंग्रेजीले उसैको ठूलो दर राख्याको छ. यागा दिननूकि भन्या पेटमा छ. सिपाही पनि कमसलमा गयाका छैनन् कोही सर्दारले हुकुम दिया यदि भरमा उदाउन्या थियौं भनि सिपाहीहरू भन्थ्या— — — — — — —

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श्री हरि द्वारीकाजी	श्री ज्वाला जि
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नेपालवाट तिर्थ गर्न भनि जान्या भैरव सि राउट दल वाहादुर षड्काहरूले देषिसुनि आयाको उनहेरूले कह्याका खवर

उप्रान्त——को मेलाभरि लाहुर गयाथ्यौ. लाहुर पुग्याका ८ दिन पछि अंगरेज लुध्याना वस्न्या अतुरा भन्य साहेवले रजित सिका छोरा पेसौर सि र रजितसिका काकाका छोरा अंतरसिई दुइले अंगरेजलाई छत्रछी वादशाह कौडी कवोलि लाहुरका वादसाह दलेपसि र बजिर हिरासिलाई मिलापैसग गै मारि बादशाहको कौडि अंग्रेजलाई तिरौला भन्या कवोलियेत गरि लुध्यानाबाट हरि क्रिपतन सहरमा वावुविसि भन्या वस्याको रहेछ. उसैसंग जाई उतैवाट मिलाप गरि दलेपसि र हिरालाई मारिको मतलप गरि गयाका रह्याका छन्. उस्तै विचमा अंतुरा साहेववाट पेसौरासि र अंतर सि ले लुध्याना बस्न्या लाटसाहेबलाई छत्रछी दि मारौला भनी लेषिदिया-को कागत वजिर हिरासिका घर पठाई तिमि क्या भन्छौ भनि लेषि पठाउदा हिरासिले कागत देख्यो र वही वषत वादसाहका हजुरमा वितियरि बादसाह र बजिर. वहिर. वारादरिकच हरि षानामा बसि पल्टन पल्टन पिछेका जर्नेल कर्णेल कप्तान कुम्मेदान अजितन. सुवेदार जमादार, पल्टन पिछेका हुँदा ऐक ऐक सिपाही दुई दुई वारा यरि झिकाई वादसाह दलेपसिले वजिर हिरासिलाई हुकुम दिया पेसौरासि र अतरसि वजिरले मलाई मारि अंग्रेजलाई छत्रछी दिउला भन्या लेषतका कवोलियेत् गऱ्या-को कागत कचहरिमा देषाई. यस्तो वेहोरा लेषि पठाउन्यालाई क्या गर्न्या हो भनि सोधपि गर्दा येस्तानुन हरामिलाई मार्न्यै हो. फिरंगिलाई पनी मार्छौं हुकुम देउ भनि पल्टनले हल्ला गुल्ला गर्दा फिरंगिसित अँले कौनैबात विगऱ्याको छैन. तिनलाई र तिम्रो पुसिगर भनि बादसाह-बाट हुकुम हुँदा वहिधरि लस्कर चलीगै. पेसौरासि र अतरसि बजिर वावुविसि इतिन जनालाई र ईनसितका लस्कर मध्ये भागन्या वाहिक घेरामा पऱ्याका मातसै ७०० लस्कर मारीदिया बादसाह पट्टीका जर्नेल गुलापसि १ कर्णेल १ कपतान १ कुम्मेदान १ पाच सात जना सिपाहि पऱ्यापछि हामि फिरंगिसित लड्न जान्छौ हुकुम देउभनी लस्कर अदिदा फेरि वादसाह बजिर दुई जनाभै तिमिहरूलाई दुई मैनाको तलप हामिले ईनाम दिन्यौं अँले दंगा गर्न्यावेला छैन भनि लस्करलाई बुझाया पछि पनी सुचेतसिको प्रेचपुरमा धरवट राख्याको सवार भन्सूर नौलाख रूपैया अंग्रेजसित राख्याको वादसाह को दौलत हो. त्यो नली फरकदैनौ भनी भन्दा उसो हामि अंग्रेजसित बुझि धरवट्को माल फिर्ता गरि दियो भन्या दिहाल्यो. दियेत भन्या लड्नु पर्ला भनी अंगरेजलाइ षतलेषि पठाउदा

अंगरेजले पनि सुचेत् सिंका छोरा र रानिमा जो हुन्छ ल्याउ र तिम्रो दौलत लैजाउ भनि फिरंगिले भन्या. सुचेत सिंका छोरा छैनन्. रानिवंन्दी थानामा छन्. त्यो दौलत त बादसाहको पोहो दिन्नौ भन्छस् भन्या जवाप दे भनी बादसाह दलेपसि र वजिर हिरा सिंले भन्दा अरू का दौलतमा हामी चित्त फाट्या होइनौं भनी अंगरेजवाट दौलत सौंपिदिया पछि बादसाह रंजित सिंका छोरा कस्मिरा सिंलाई विनाषतै विचैमा वजिर हिरासिंले मार्‍यो भंन्या दगा उठाई कि. कस्मिरासिंलाई ल्याउ ल्याउदैनौ भन्या हिरासिंलाई पनि मार्छौं भन्दा मैले कस्मिरासिंलाई मार्‍याको छैन कस्मिरासिंलाई मार्‍यो भन्याकोहो त्यो मानिस मलाई देउ तिमि क्या मारौला म कसोगरि मरौंला तिम्रा छातीमा मैले सुनको जुर्ता मारिराष्याछु हिराका जुत्तिमार्न्या कोही निस्कन्छन् भन्या मारौला भनी हिरा सिंले भन्या पछि लस्करलाइ वजिर हिरासिंले समाउदा कस्मिरा सिं मार्‍याको ठहरन. लस्करले पनी त्यो मानीस दियेन बादसाह वजिर लस्कर सवमीली आफ्ना आफ्ना छाउनीमा गया सदाकुमारीले आफूलाई विराम हुँदा फिरेणीका दाग्दरलाई एकलाषको मुलुकको पैदावार थानु भनि दियाको रहेछ. सो पैदावार अंजरेजवाट झिकि सिक्वाट चलन भयो त्याहासम्म गयाको हामिले देष्याथ्यौं वाहावाट फर्कि—२——को दर्सन गरि सुगाठोरको वाटो आउदा अंगरेजको प्रेचुरमा लाम वाँधि वोभंन्या समाचार सुन्याथ्यौं लस्कर पनि उतैतिर गयाका देख्याथ्यौं श्रीनगर अलमोडमा सोरमा आईपुग्या. पनी ताहा रह्याका तोप बम षर षजना गयाको हामिले देषिग्र्यौं भन्या विस्तार गर्‍या शुभम्— — — — — —

श्री

श्री गंगा

नरसिंसाहिले लेख्याका चिठीको विजिनस उतार षवरको फर्द—उप्रान्त नबाबको र लाठ साहेवको मिलाप कानपुरमा हुदा ८ मुकाम नवावले वोल्या प्रथम आगमिरको सलक गराउन्यो कुरामा. लाठसाहेबले गुलाम हजुरको छ हामिछेउ आयाको संदेह छैन. हजुरका सरणपिछा पर्छु भनि विति गर्छ भदा त्योनिमक हराम हो, तेस्का कौनै वातको विस्वास छैन. मुषपनि देषनु छैन जोहाम्रो चिजमाल असंवाव तेसले लियाको छ सामिल्या चाहिन्छ भंदा रिसले हामिछेउ आयोत पनि. ज्यानुमाल समेत हजुरको छ भन्यो र माल असबाब दिन्या डौल. नबाबले देषेन र तेस आगामिरले ल्याया को माल २५।२६ करवरको छ. तेसमध्ये छ्यानि तिमिले उदस् अंनिको हिसाफ हामिलाई देउ भंदा छ्यानि हामिलाई दिनु पर्दैन गुलाम हजुरको छदैछ भन्या र मिलाप भयापछि २ करवर रूपैया तोफविदा मुलुकि जंगि २ लाठसाहेबलाई नजराना गर्दा रुपैया दिनु पर्दैन कम्पनिसंग मेहेर दोस्तीछ. हाम्रो कारोवार सबै जहाजमा चल्छ हडिया पश्चिम जना. मौभाट हाम्रा अम्बल तक आफ्ना अंवलभित्रका चकलेदार जिमिदारहरू हाम्रा जहाज वालालाई महसूल वापत् तक्कार गर्दैछन्. तसर्थ———का किनाराभर ५ कोसका जगा हामिलाई छोडि मेहेर भया वहुत वेस हुँदोहो-पैसाको कामि-छैन भनि लाठ साहेवहरूले भंदा नवावले एति जगा हामिछेउ रह्याको छ. क्या तिमिलाई छोदौं. क्या हामिराषौं. हाम्रोत नाम मात्र छ. पैसा अनेक तरहले आफु छेउआउदैछन् भनि तिनै मुकाममा तडकि कुराको वस्तोवस्त केहि नवसि-नवाव कुचगरि लषनौ गया जंगि लाठ अंतरवेदको वाटो गरि सुगा थोर गयो मुलुकि लाठ कानपुरका अंदालथको मालीक मर्क जिवसाहेब र लषनौ वस्न्या रजिडंट साहेब ई २ जनालाई तिमिहरूले नवाबसंग वसि——१——का किनाराको मामिला गर्‍याभनि अह्राई सितापुरको वाटोगरि उपनि सुगा ठोर गयो. वोली चल्याको भन्या २ वर्ष सम्म सुगा ठौरमा वस्न्याछन् भनछन् मर्क जिव साहेब फेरि फागुनका आठदिन जाँदा कानपुरम आयो जगा छोदिदैन अंरेजका काज निमित्त जिमिदारचकले दारहरूलाई अदल गरौला. जगा जगामा चौकी राषौला. तिम्रो नोक्सान हवैन जाहान वाल आराम रहनन् भन्या जवाप लि. कानपुरमा

आयाको रहेछ. सबै साहेवानहरू बडि पुलमा अषादसम्म मात्रै राष्नु भन्या कुरा ठहरि उर्दिमयो. पुलमा एक सौसवार १ कम्पनि हर्दम चौकि बस्याको छ. आगामिरलाई २ बंगाला इनाम दि घर बंगाला यस बाह्र हजार रूपैया मोल लि बसायाको छ. सदरवाट पैदल गोरा १ हजार १ हजार काला जमा २ हजार लस्कर र गाजिपुरदेषि ५७८ घोडा मेरटूजान भनि फागुनका १२ दिन जाँदा सामेल भयाका थिया. मेरट् सुगाठोर जगा जगा क्रम संग सराजाम पोष्त गरि राषुन लाग्याको छ. हालत केहिछैन. पछि कसोहुन्छ भनि लेख्याको रहेछ ।— — —

NEPAL

(Continued)

History of Nepal

– Sylvain Levi

Nepal figures in authentic and positive history only from the IVth century of the Christian era. The first dated document which mentions the name of Nepal is the panegyric of the Emperor Samudra Gupta on the pillar of Allahabad; the inscription enumerates the tribes (or nations) subdued in the character of tributaries vassals or direct subject to the authority of the powerful sovereign who gave to India for a while the imperial unity. The king of Nepal (Nepal-urpati) is mentioned in the inscription, but ranked second last among the prince who 'paid the tribute, obeyed the orders and came to prostrate themselves to satisfy the haughty will of the master (or lord)'; he is placed between the prince of Kamarupa one on the one hand and the prince of Kartripura on the other. The name of Katripura has not yet been found elsewhere and remains enigmatic. The name of Kamarupa has lasted; it continues to officially designate the district to the North-west of Assam on the Southern frontier of Bhutan. The names of Nepal and Kamarupa are frequently compared in literature as they are on the pillar of Allahabad.

Sanscrit literature in its whole sets too many problems to chronology to be of any useful help to it. The great epics and Puranas in particular, still wander at random in the chaos of the Hindu past. Whatever be really the date it is essential to observe that the name of Nepal is not to be found, as far as I know in the Mahabharata or in the Ramayana or again in the principal Puranas, in spite of the considerable place the Himalayas occupy in their accounts and legends. The general silence of the great epic compilations and mythological compilations leads one to conclude that the name of

Nepal was still unknown or was not then existing at the epoch of the 'diascevasts'. While the neighbouring Kamarupa under the archaical designation of Pragjyotisa was admitted in the cycle of consecrated rhapsodies. Nepal remained the unknown asylum of the barbarous Kiratas, inaccessible in their mountains and dreaded by the plain.

A so called text of Vedic literature the Atharva-paricista, mentions it is true, Nepal with Kamarupa; but the work in spite of its claim is a sham supplement of the Atharva-Veda edited at late period; some of its astrological doctrines seem to reveal even into evidence, the influence of Hellienic ideas. In fact it is with the personal literature that the name of Nepal appears in India. One of the twenty-five tales of the Vampire, inserted in the Bharatkatha paicaci of Gunadya, has for its hero a king of Nepal; the two Sanscrit versions are in accord with naming him Yacahketu. This tale belongs of the popular cycle of Muladeva, the king of knaves; the name of Nepal, far from being essential to the narration, is only introduced in it by chance, but the comparison of the two versions attest that this purely arbitrary choice dates back at least to the compiler of the original pracrit, towards the second century of the Christian era.[1] Towards the same period a little later perhaps, the Treaties of Bharata's dramatic art, nâmes 'the people of Nepal' among the inhabitants and neighbours of the mountains.[2]

In the VIth century the astronomer Varaha-Mihira mentions Nepal in the group of nations threatened like an evil presage, by the intersection of the orbits of Venus and the Moon; but his text reproduces in fact an anterior doctrine which goes back (traces back) to its predecessor Paracara.[3]

The literature of Buddhism presents several mentions of Nepal but it is difficult to assign to them a positive date. The Mula-Sarvastwada-vinaya-samgraha, compiled by Jinamitra and translated by I-tsing, in 700 J. C. shows in an episode relative to the wearing of wool a troop of Bhiksus on their way to Nepal (Ni-po-lo) whilst Buddha was residing at Cravasti.[4] The author of this collection is undoubtedly identical to a doctor of the same name whom Hiouentsang extols as one of the stars of Buddhistic science, next to Sthiramati who flourished towards 550; precisely the Tibetan Bu-ston mentions Jinamitra as the disciple of Sthiramati.[5]

The Vinayasamgraha would then be of the VIth-VIIth century, and Jinamitra is borrowing an episode from the canonical texts, was able to introduce in it a name of more recent date. The name of Nepal is also found in the text of a sutra, the Candragarbhasutra, translated in Chinese by Narendrayacas between 550 and 557 J. C.; it figures in a long and interesting list of nations which betrays

either a fabrication or an altering of a la'e date, hardly anterior to the translator himself.[6] In the course of the VIIth century, the Eulogy of the Eight Great Chaityas, attributed to king Horsa Ciladitya places Nepal, in company with Kamarupa among the countries possersors of holy relics.[7] The literature of the tantras drawn up at a fairly early date is naturally familiar with Nepal where the Tantras were honoured, The Manjucvimula-tantra translated in Chinese between 980 and 1000 J. C. designates Nepal with Kashmere the Kapica (Kiaiwei-chi), the small and the great China (Mahachina) among the kingdoms of Northern India where can be found suitable shelters to complete one's practices;[8] in another passage it teaches the evil signs which foretells a calamity in Nepal; "When in the days of the naksatras Hasta, Citra Svati, Vicakha Anuradha, Jyestha, there will be an earthquake, then in the kingdom of Nepal (Ni-po-lo) the small kings of within and those in the neighbourhood will invade, pillage and kill one another mutually."

The Sarva Tathagatha (maha-guhya rahasyadbutanuttara-pracastamaha mandala-sutra also mentions Nepal, pell-mell with Magadha, China, Samatata, Lata, etc. among the kingdoms in which reside the desciples of Vajra-pani.[9]

The first authentic personage who finds himself placed in connection with Nepal is the famous doctor Vasu-bandhu who flourished in the neighbourhood of the Vth and VIth century[1] according to the account of Taranatha, Vasubandhu already aged proceeded to Nepal accompanied by 500 students; he founded thither religious schools and the number of monks increased considerably. But one day he saw a guru, garbed with his ecclesiastical robes, who was cultivating a field; at the sight of this unexplainable transgression, he understood that the decadence of the doctrine was near at hand; thrice he recited the formula of the Usnisavijaya dharani and died. His disciples erected to his memory, a chaitya over the spot.[12]

The Jaina tradition mentions on its side, that the patriarch Bhadrabahu was on his way to Nepal at the time the council of Pataliputra assembled to gather the text of the Angas which was almost getting lost.[13] The death of Bhadrabahu fluctuates according to the various schools, between 357 and 365 B. C. but the Paricista-purvan wherein is found the indication of his journey to Nepal is the work of Hemachandra the great Jaina doctor who lived at the court of king Kumara-pala in the XIIth century.

The name of Nepal, Nepala in spite of its Sanscrit feature, does not offer to etymology a satisfactory explanation. Lessen proposed to interpret it, by analogy with the words Himala, Pancala, etc. as

an abstract of the two terms; nipa and ala. Ala would be as in other names of this type an abbreviation of alaya 'abode'; nipa, strengthened into nepa would signify; the foot of a mountain. But even to suppose it as legitimate the modification of nipa into nepa, the meaning attributed here to this word has no other guarantee than that of a scholastic comment; besides it adapts itself rather badly to a country situated in the very heart of the mountains; Nepal is in proper only the great interior valley. The word nipa designates especially a variety of ashoka (the nuclear cadamba of the botanists) which is far from characterizing the Nepalese region. One can still call in the Nipas, princely race of the cycle of the Pandawas, who reigned at Kampilya in the Pancala.

The local interpretation prefers another analysis; it divides the word in 'ne pala'; this last element signifies in Sanscrit; 'the protector'. The fantasy of the exegesis has been able to exercise in Sanscrit. The Buddhists see in it a formation drawn from the root 'ne', "to guide", 'No' would be the 'guide who leads into Paradise", Swayambhu Adibuddha. Ne-pala would signify: (the country) which has for protector Swayambhu.

According to the Brahmans 'Ne' would be the real or abbreviated name of a saint who lived at one time in Nepal. In the Pashupati-purana (XXI) Sanat-kumara speaks out: "A saint named Ne has protected him at one time by his meritorious works; thus it is that the country in the heart of the Himalaya is called Nepala".[14] The Nepala-mahatmya (XII) names the same saint Nemi. "O !. Nemi, says Pashupati to him, walk at the head of the saints of this sacred domain; it is you who must, O ! treasure of austerities, protect this country, oh my lord." And since then the country, has taken the name of Nepala.[15] Instead of Nemi, the eponym is also called sometimes Niyama.[16] In this system of interpretation, Nepal is exact y the counterpoise of the Gurkha; the Gurkha in fact, derives his name from the patronal saint (Gorakha Natha) who protected the town and the country.

The saint Ne or Nemi is known to be the founder of the mystical dynasty of the Guptas; the Lunar dynasty (Somavamca), the first Hundu dynasty which seems to belong to history has for founder a prince named Nimisa; Nemi and Nimisa are undoubtedly only two variations of the same tradition or legend. It is again the same eponym ancestor who re-appears under a third formation in the king Nemita whom the sources of Taranatha designate as the father of Ashoka. "In the kingdom of Camparna which belong to the people of the Tharus, Nemita, assisted by five hundred ministers dictated to the whole country of the North. The mountaineers of Nepal and the Khacyas rose against him. Ashoka, his son, quelled them without difficulty." Camparna is manifestly the Sanscrit Camparanya, the modern Cham-

paran, situated on the frontiers of Nepal on the great road from Patna to Kathmandu; the Tharus continue to populate with their tribes more than-half savage the swampy low-lands of the Terai to the North of Champaran on the outskirt of Nepal.

The speech of Nemi or Ne-muni marks in the local chronology, the transition between the divine and the legendary period: it falls 600 years or 900 years before the commencement of the Kali-yuga (3101 B. C.) in the fourth millennium before the Christian era. The divine period traces back to the origins of the world; the legendary period descends to be very accession of Amsuvarman, founder of the Thakuri dynasty. It is from his reign that "the gods ceased from showing themselves in Nepal, under their corporal forms to the looks of human beings." A verse of the Bhavisya-Purana predicts in fact that; "Vishnu must reside ten thousand years on the earth; the Ganga twice less; the Gram-Devatas (local divinities) twice less again". But Nepal being the country of the gods, the Devatas consented to prolong their sojourn in the country by three hundred years. The accession of Amsuvarman falls in this system in 2800 $\frac{(10000-300)}{2X2}$ of the Kali yuga; by a whim for found figures it was carried to 3000 K. Y. = 101 B.C.; a lucky chance permits us to correct with assurance the figures of the Vamsavali, the confrontation (or comparison) of the epigraphy; and the Chinese visitors fixes indisputably the reign of Amsuvarman to the beginning of the VIIth century J. C. (595 J. C. - 3696 K.Y.). The difference is eight hundred years. To rely on the system of the Vamsavali one would have thought himself duty-bound to affirm that the positive history began in Nepal towards the year 600 J.C., after the disappearance of the gods always held suspiciously by the historian. But, on the discovery of this prevention the epygraphy readers, from now to history a series of kings of the Suryavansi dynasty beginning from the pious Vrisa deva who visited hell and came back; if the reign of Mana deva (1) dates as we believe having established from the close of the Vth century, Vrisa deva, his great-grand father, must date back to the thereabout of the year 450 J. C. less than half a century after the inscription of Samudra Gupta wherein is found the first authentic mention of the kingdom of Nepal. Beyond that, criticism argues the facts painfully with tradition.

The divine history of Nepal consists especially in the legends I have already alluded to, according to Bhramanic and Buddhistic compilations. It would be childish to attempt establishing a linking in these tales. I only (remember) recall the role attributed to Manjushri, who came from China to Swayambhu, pulled out Nepal from the waters and founded thither the town of Manjupatana[17] between the Vishnumati to the west the Bagmati to the east and south and the Sheopuri to the North.

The actual town of Kathmandu

forms the S. Western angle of this legendary site He enthroned thither as king Dharmakara, a king of great China (Maha-china) who had followed him in his pilgrimage and who justified his name by his piety and his virtues; "Treasure of the law", Dharmakara organized Nepal on the model of China; science, knowledges, trades, culture, manners, commerce, all copied the Chinese examples. He even erected a religious edifice with stories on Chinese fashion. He left the throne to Dharamapala, who had come from India with the Buddha Krakucchanda. The dynasty of Dharma pala lasted to the end of the Treta age.

Sudhavan who reigned at this critical time, carried the capital to Sankasya on the banks of the Iksumati (the stream Tukucha to the east of the British Residence); but he risked the anger of Janaka, the father-in-law of the glorious Rama; Janaka had him sentenced to death and handed over the vacant throne to his own brother Kucadhvaua who founded (or established) a new dynasty. The episode of Sudhavan has been borrowed entirely from the Ramayana (l. 70th and 71th adhy) and betrays the intention interrupted to connect Nepalese antiquity to the cycle of Rama, where he could not find an authentic place. In the days of the Buddha Kacyapa, Nepal receives the visit of a king of Ganda (Bengal,) Pracanda deva, entering in religion under the name of Cantacri or Cantikara. The descendants of his son, Sakti deva, come afterwards from Bengal, to occupy the throne left vacant; one among them, Guna Kama deva, learns from his grand father Cantikara, the rites which make the Nagas kind and favourable. The legend has here divided in two, in order to carry them back to be most distant past, Guna Kama deva, the Thakuri and his spiritual master, whose supernatural prestige adapted itself to the inventions of storytellers.

The hero of a famous Jataka, Simhala is afterwards introduced in the lineage of Guna Kama deva; he comes to establish in Nepal convent of Vikramacila, poor counterfeit of a famous convent erected in Maghada by Dharmapala, king of Ganda, in the IXth country J. C.

The procedure of division and of bringing forward applied to the dynasty of the Kiratas, furnishes a progeny of princes who fill up an interval of a thousand years. The last of these so-called Kiratas, Sahku is overthrown by a Hindu prince Dharma Dutta, who had come from Kanci (Coujeveram near madras), to worship Pashupati; he abandon Suprabha (Thankot to the S. West of the valley) which the Kiratas had adopted for capital and creates Vicalanagara on the longitudinal axis of the valley, between Budha Nilkanth and Kotwal (The breach of Manjusri). He established Hindus of the four castes and reigns for a thousand years; he built the temple of Pashupati,a

chaitya which bears his name; this chaitya still existed in the dais of Vrisa deva, the Suryavansi, who had it restored and repaired. The demon Danasura then took possession of the country, floods the valley to create himself a pleasure lake; but he is vanquished and killed by Vishnu-Krana. The old towns have disappeared under the flood; Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva associated, established (or found) a new town between the upper course of the Bagmati (Sankha-mula) and Budhanilkanth and enthroned thither as king a ksetri, Svayamvrata, son of a hermit saint (risi). The kings of popular tales, Vikramajit (Vikramaditya), his son Vikrama-Kesari, his rival Bhoja who sits on a throne supported by thirty two speaking statues, succeeded one another afterwards in Nepal. The population increases; towns are built here and there; Matirajya, Irsyarajya, Padma-Kastha-giri (Kirtipur). A thousand years later a queen of Marvar, Pingala neglected by her husband, king Sudatta, proceeds of Nepal, wins the favour of Pashupati by her zeal; the intervention of the gods reconciles the home and Pingala founds in memory of her sojourn, the Pingala-vihara. There still remains 950 years to lapse of the Dvapara age, when the gods decided to re-establish in Nepal the authority of a king.

The sage Ne-muni was then residing on the confluent of the Bagmati and the Vishnumati; he enlightened and instructed the people; they listened to him as if he were an oracle. He declared that the time had come to consecrate a new prince. As there were no more Ksatriyas left, his choice fell on a shepherd of Kirtipur who descended from a companion of Krishna who had come at one time to install him next in the list to the God. The father also of this shepherd had died a supernatural death, consumed by the fire of Pashupati at the moment he was removing from the ruins the divine emblem which had been buried for a long time. The dynasty of the shepherds numbered eight princes.[18]

1. Bhuktamana W. (Bhuktamanagataıs B. Bhukta-mamgata V.)	88 years
Bhoorimahagah K.	48 years 3 months
2. Jaya Gupta	72 years W. B.
Jye Gupt	73 years 3 months K.
	92 years V.
3. Parama Gupta	80 years W.B.V-
Parma Gupt	91 years K.
	93 years W.B.
4. Horsa Gupta	95 years V.
Sree Hurkh	67 years K.
5. Bhima Gupta (Bheem Gupt)	38 years W.B.K.
	85 years V.
6. Mani Gupta (Munni Gupt)	37 years W.B.K.
Mati Gupta	88 years V.

7. Vishnu Gupta	42 years W. B.
	92 years V.
Bishen Gupta	66 years K.
8. Yaksa Gupta	71 years W.
	71 years 1 month K
Jye Gupt	72 years B.
	85 years V.

Altogether: 521 years W.–522 years B.–705 years V.–491 years and 4 months K.

Their capital was at Mata-tirtha, to the S. W. of the valley between Kirtipur and Thankot.

Without allowing one self to be convinced by the comparison of names and the precision of the figures, it is right to recognize at least, the probability of the tradition grasped in its whole.

Before becoming the seat of a policed state and of an organized nation, Nepal sheltered the pastoral tribes who drove their cattle at random among the pasture ground of the Himalayas. Whilst the shepherds of Hindustan continued to drive their cattle, during the good season in the rich meadow-lands of the Terai, the mountain tribes scattered in the high valleys, struggling against a rugged soil and severe climate, have no other resource than the pastoral life. With the shepherd of Krishna, the lover shepherd girls, the Hindu thought binds a fatal knot, the Goals (Gopalas) of the present day Bengal naturally pretend connection with Krishna, as the Nepalese chronicler connects him with the primitive shepherds of his country.

The first political rivalries are only the quarrels of shepherds disputing from one another the best meadow-lands an Ahir (abhira,) who comes from Hindusthan, supersedes the Gopalas. The Ahirs are still found in present day India, an ordinary subdivision of the Goals; often even the two name substitute each other to the chances of local preferences; Gopal is more used in Bengal; Ahir in Bihar. Manu (X, 15) holds the Abhiras as the issue of an irregular union between a Brahman and a daughter of Vaisya. The Abhiras were predominant by their number or their power, in the reign between the Indus and the Narmada, in the early days of the Christian era. As an instance to this one can see the Greek texts of the (Periple, 41; of the Ptolemee, XII, 1, 55) and the inscriptions (Nasik, No. 10). The list of Kirkpatrick transforms the first Abhira into a Rajput; having descended from the Gopalas by a strange lineage, he is supposed to have raised an army in the Terai between Simroun Garh and Janakpur. The Ahirs kings (Abhiras) are:

1. Vara Simha	75 years V.
Bhul Singh	49 years K.

2. Jayamati Simha	(75 years V.
Jye Sing	(21 years 7 months K.
3. Bhuvana Simha	45 years V.
Bhavana	(41 years K.
Bhowany Singh	

In al: 195 years V.-111 years and 7 months K.

The valley enriched by the settlement of a sedentary population offered to the barbarians of the neighbouring mountains a tempting bait. Tradition once more in accored with likelihood, introduced at this time an invasion of the Kiratas; they come from the east and take possession of the country.

The Kiratas are from a long date a name familiar to India. A vedic formula (Vajasaneyi Samhita, XXX, 16), connected to the distant memories of the human sacrifice, despatches 'the Kirata back to his caves'. The mountain is in fact his domain; it is there that he continues to live and dominate during the epic period; Bhima meets the Kiratas in leaving the Vedeha on his victorious march towards the eastern regions (Maha-Bharata II, 1009); Nakula also finds them on his track when he conquered the west (II, 1190); Arjuna, whilst he was ascending the Himalayas towards the north, is stopped and defined by a kirata or rather by Shiva under the features of a Kirata (III, adhy, 38-41); it is the famous episode which Bharavi has taken up and treated with all the resources of smart poetry in the Kiratarjuniya classic. After the Kiratas figure in the lists of the Maha-Bharata in company with foreign tribes which border the frontiers of India; Yavanas, Yaksas, Pahlavas, etc. are especially to the Cinas that they are associated; Kiratas and Cinas fraternize under banners of the glorious Bhagadatta, emperor of the Pragjyotisa (Kamarupa); they form the contingent of the yellow- "The Cinas and Kiratas soldiers seemed to be of gold; their troops had the appearance of a forest of karnikaras with yellow flowers" (V584). The Ramayana (IV. 40, 26, Bombay tribes are not organized as a nation and formed several kingdoms; Bhima subjugates "the seven kings of the Kiratas" (II,1089); the figure is in accordance with the usual nomenclature of the "Seven Gandakis" and the "Seven Kosis" in the Nepalese Himalaya. Several of these kings are particularly designated; Subahu (III, 10863), who commands to the kiratas and Tanganas and who receives as a friend the wandering Pandavas (III,12351); Pulinda (II,119), Sumanas (II,120). The customs of the Kiratas are simple; they live on fruits and roots dress in the skin of animals (II,1865), raise their hair in a pointed knot: they are nevertheless amiable looking (Ramay, IV. 40, 26) their knife, like the Nepalese Khukuri, is a dreadful weapon. (M, Bh. II,1865). Such are at least the kiratas clans which live in the most remote part of the Himalaya; towards the mountain where the sun rises in the Karusa which is at the extremity of the ocean

and in the region of the Layhitya (Brahmaputra).

Other Kiratas who live with the populations of the littoral (II,1002) and who dwell in islands are ferocious; they food themselves on raw fish, move about in water; they are called tigermen (Ramay, IV, 40, 26). This portrait is perfectly applicable to the of the Periple (62) the tribes dwelling to the north of the Dosarene, near the mouths of the Ganges; "These kinds of men have their nose flattened on the visage; they are barbarous", their immediate neighbours, the Head of Horses and the Long Heads, are even understood to be cannibals. Ptolemee places the country of the Kiratas at the mouths of the Ganges, to the east of the most important mouth (VII, 2,2); it is from them that one can obtain the best quality of Malabathron. But they are only intermediaries; we know by the Periple (65) that the Malabathron comes from the country of the (Cina); they sell them to who are a race of small statured men with large faces, soft chracter and altogether similar to animals; these are evidently identical to the which Ptoleemse (VII, 2, 15) almost exactly describes in the same terms, borrowed from a common source and which he places exactly on the limits of the (VII, 2 16). Commerce, thus connected the Kiratas and the Cinas. In effect, the Kitatas bring most varied objects as gifts to the joyous accession of Yudhisthira; loads of sandal wood and (agalloque) wood and odoriferous black wood (Kaliyaka, eagle wood), skins of animals precious stones, gold a heap of perfumes, a myriad of Kiratas girls as slaves and still other charming presents, animals, foreign birds and splendid gold, drawn out from the mountains (11, 1866, 1869). In his famous list of 64 writings the Lalita-Visra, attributes a special writing to the Kiratas. In the theoretical organisation of Brahmanism such as it is regulated by the laws of Manu, the Kiratas are considered as Ksatriyas of origin, fallen to the rank of the Cudras by their neglect of the rites and their disdain of the Brahmans (Manavadh. c., x, 43-44).

From the majority of testimonies it appears that in ancient times, the Hindus designated under the name of Kiratas all the populations of Tibeto- Burmese families which spread out successively between the lofty plateaus of the Himalayas, the mouths of the Ganges and the neighbouring littoral. Pushed back or absorbed by the Hindu invasion, the Kiratas have only existed in the mountains to the east of Nepal. At the time of the Gurkha conquest, in 1768, the Kiratas still formed 'an independent nation' bordering on the east of the kingdom of Bhatgaon at a distance of five or six days from this capital; they professed no religion[21] but the conquest of Nepal once completed the Gurkhas soon laid hold of the country of the Kiratas[22]. To-day, the Nepalese custom still designates under the name of Kirata (vulg Koranta) the country comprised between the Dudh-Kosi and the Arun. But the Kiratas' nation occupies a larger territory which nearly reaches the eastern frontiers of Nepal; it comprises the clans of the Khambus of the Limbus, of the Yakhas and what more the Danuars, the Hayus and the Thamis pretend to be connected to them more or less ligitima-

tely. The religious indifference that Father Giuseppe mentioned among the Kiratas has not changed; in Buddhistic countries they murmur the 'Om mani padme hum' and present gifts to the Lamas; in Hindu countries they give themselves as followers of Shiva and worship Mahadeva and Gauri.

Like all the tribes of Tibetan race, the actual Kiratas are fond of beef and it is by force of arms that the Ghurkas have introduced in their customs, the compulsory respect of the cow. The Limbus have an expressive legend on their origin; they pretend to descend from a family of ten brothers who emigrated from Benaras (Kasi), their native land and who come to reside some in Nepal and others in Tibet; the brothers established in Tibet went afterwards to join those in Nepal; but their posterity maintains the nominal subdivision in Kasi-gotra and Lhasa gotra.

The dynasty of the Kiratas numbers 26 or 29 princes:

1. Yalambara 13 years W.
   Yalamva 50 years V.
   Yellung 90 years 3 months K.

2. Pabi
   Pamvi 35 years V. (missing to K.)

3. Skandhara W. B.
   Dhaskam 36 years V.

2) Duskham 37 years V.

4. Balamba W.
   Valamva 21 years V.B.

3) Ballancha 31 years 6 months K.

5. Hirti 19 years V. (W. B-)

4) Kingly 41 years 1 month K.

6. Humati 21 years V. (W.B.). continuation in K.

5) Hunnanter 50 years K.
6.1/2 Tuskhah 41 years 8 months (=9)

7. Jitedasti 9 years V. (W. B.) Arropuar38 years 6 months (-10?)

8. Gali W. B. 8. Jetydastry 60 years (-7)
   Galimja 61 years V.

9. Puska W.B. 9. Punchem 71 years (12)
   Tuska 69 years V.

10. Suyarma W. B. 10. king-king-king 56 years =(12 bis)
    Snyasya 45 years V.

11. Parba 45 years V. (W. B.) 11. Soohund 50 years 8 months (13)

12. Thunka B. 12. Thoomoo 58 years (14)
    Bunka W.
    Pamca 37 years V.

12) bis Kemke 38 years V. (missing to W. and B.)

13. Savanda 41 years V. (W.B.)
13. Jaighree 60 years 1 month (15)

14. Sthunko W. B. 14. Jennes 73 years 2 months (16)
Thumko 59 years V.

15. Gighri 71 years V. (W. B.)
15. Suenkek 60 years 1 month (17)

16 Nane 59 years V. (W.B.)
16. Thoor 71 years (18)

17. Luk W.B. 17. Thamoo 83 years (19)
Luke 53 years V.

18. Thor 39 years V.(W. B.)
18. Burmah 73 years 6 months (20)

19. Thoko 50 years V.(W.B.)
19. Gunjeh 72 years 7 months (21)

20. Varna 41 years V.(W.B.)
20. Kush-koon, unknown period (22)

21. Guja W.B.
21. Teeshoo 56 years (23)
Gumja 39 years V.

22. Puska W.
22. Soogmeea 59 years (24)
Puskara B.
Pumska 35 years V.

23. Kesu 31 years V. (W. B.)
23. Joosha 63 years (3)

24. Suga W.
24. Gontho 74 years (26)
Sunsa B.
Samgu 29 years V.

26. Gunan W.
Gunana B.
Gumnamja 35 years V.

27. Khimbu W. B.
Simbu 27 years V.

28. Patuka W. B. (missing to V.)

29. Gasti 41 years V. (W. B.)

The total duration of the dynasty according to K. (in counting as zero the reign of twenty Kush kon) is 1581 years and one month according to B. and V., it is 1118 years (but the total of the reign indicated in V. goes 1178 years). The three numbers, although they are different, present in common the three numbers 1, 1, 8, combined diversely with a 5 in K., a 1 in B and V., a 7 in the calculation by the addition of V. It is little probable that chance alone could have determined in three numbers of four figures, each one an identity of three figures. The three figures 1, 1, 8, common remainder of the

three diverging numbers undoubtedly represent the stable and fixed element of the tradition; each one of the chroniclers has after this adapted it to his fancy.

The names given to the Kirata kings are precisely barbarious; it is sufficient to exclude the hypothesis of a clever fabrication. Strangers to the taste of local prejudice the Hindu chroniclers, if they find the opportunity of introducing foreign personages in their fanciful whims, cloak them with names purely Hindu. I have just mentioned the Kirata kings, who appear in the Maha-Bharata, are called Subahu, Sumanas, like the most authentic Aryan heroes. I do not pretend however that the Nepalese dynasty of the Kiratas preserve the positive souvenir of the barbarous princes who could have reigned in the Himalaya at the beginning of the Kali-Yuga, or even of the Christian era. The tradition mentioned undoubtedly that before the Hindu dynasties of the historical times, the country had been peopled with shepherds, then dominated by the Kiratas. The shepherds were unknown beings, without personality, whom one could baptize according to the minds inclination. A real family of Abhiras, installed on the throne towards the Amsuvarman epoch, had borne names composed with the word Gupta; the Gopalas of primordial days received names fashioned on the same patron. But the Kiratas in the days of the first Vamsavali as in more recent times were perfectly real and familiar personages in consistent contact with the people of Nepal. The Kiratas, like all the tribes of the Himalaya, had without the least doubt their royal genealogies; the compilers must have, according to the usage placed them in connection with three given capitals; the heroes of the Maha-Bharata, the Buddha and the most glorious patron of Buddhism, Ashoka. The Nepalese chroniclers are supposed to have incorporated 'en bion' in their history is the first legendary dynasty of the Kiratas. The name even of the first of the Kiratas; Yellung (K), Yalamba, Yalambar seems to be connected with the legend which places on the banks of the river Ya-loung (Yar-loung), the cradle of the Tibetan race and the sojourn of his first king. Yalang (Yalamba or Yalambar) reigns exactly at the end of the Dwapara-yuga. Under his son and successor Pabi (Pamvi), the astrologers announce the victory of injustice over justice already lame and the beginning of the Kali-yuga. On running against the 'pouranic' doctrines which put a start to the Kali-yuga from the day Vishnu-Krishna ascended again into heaven after the definit triumph of the Pandavas over their rivals, the chronicles place the origin of the Kali-yuga before the epic war of Yudhisthira and his brothers. The figures of Kirkpatric carry the reign of Jitedasti, who was the auxiliary of the Pandavas at the battle of Kuruksetra, between 272 and 332 of the Kali-Yuga; the Brahmanic Vamsavali places it (the reign) between 132 and 141 of the same era. Further, Sthunko designated as the contemporary of Ashoka reign according to Kirkpatrick from 509 to 567 K.Y., according to the Brahmanic Vamsavali from 476 to 535 K.Y. and the Puranas are almost agreed on placing Ashoka

about twelve centuries after the reign of Pariksit, who inaugurated the Kali-Yuga. There is then a space of seven centuries between the system of the Puranas and that of the Vamsavalis. It is useless to determine its connection with the real chronology; it (the chronology) has nothing in common with these inventions.

Under Humati (6), Arjuna had visited the Himalayas and struggled with Mahadeva disguised as a Kirata. The successor of Humati, Jitedasti, proceeded with his troops to Kuruksetra on the command of Arjuna and participated in the final victory; it is at this moment that Shakya. muni is supposed to have come to Nepal to preach the doctrine and worship the holy sites; Sthunko (4) reigned when Ashoka undertook on the advices of his spiritual director Upagupta, a pilgrimage to Nepal. He erected several monuments thither, married his daughter Carumati to a Ksatriya Deva pala, who founded Deo Patan. The two lovers becoming old, wished to build each one a convent wherein to retire. Carumati alone succeeded in erecting hers.

The capital of the Kiratas was situated in the jungles of Gokarna to the N. E. of Pashupati. The invasion of Hindu conquerors compelled Patuka (28) to withdraw to the south, beyond the Sankhamula tirtha; his son Gasti (29) did not succeed in stopping the invaders and had to abandon the country to them.

The new masters of Nepal belonged according to some (W. V. B.) to the Lunar family issue of Kuru; according to others (K.), to the Solar family issue of Rama their dynasty number five princes.

1. Nimikha	W.	
Nimisa	B. V.	40 years
Nevesit	K.	50 years
2. Mataksa	W. V.	
Manaksa	B.	61 years
Mutta Ration	K.	91 years
3. Kakavarman	W. B. V.	76 years
Kaick burmah	K.	76 years
4. Pashupreksa deva	H.	
Pashuprekha deva	W.	
Pashuprassa	V.	86 years
Passhupush dev	K.	56 years
5. Bhaskara Varman	W. B. V.	88 years
Bhosker Burmal	K.	74 years

Total duration: 351 years V.-347 years K. The two totals are identical but for four units. The new dynasty changed its capital to the S. Eastern extremity of the valley at Godavari; it is under the reign of Nimisa that a miracle manifested in this localiry the distant waters of the Godavari brought from the Dekkhan by a mysterious subterranean channel. Nimisa seems to be related by origin with Nemi the eponym of Nepal.

With Pashupreksa the chronicle seems to enter at last in the domain of more precise traditions; the very name of the king ("He who has seen Pashupati") seems to be connected to a legend on the invention of the Nepalese god; he is recognized in all the Vamsavalis as having introduced the organization of the Hindu society in Nepal either be it that he 'divided the inhabitants into four castes (Kirkpatrick, 189) or that he peopled the country with the four castes' (wright, 113). The first fact dated with the Nepalese chronology associates the memory of King Pashupareksa to the god Pashupati; he is supposed have built (Kirkpatrick) or re-built (Wright) the temple of Pashupati, crowned it with a gilder roofing in the year 1234 (W.) or 1239 (V.) of the Kali-yuga. Another memory equally precise and positive is connected to the son of Pashupreksa, Bhaskara varman[23]. Returning to Nepal after a triumphant campaign in India, he consecrated all the gold of his booty to Pashupati, gave as an estate to the temple, the town of Deo Patan which he had enlarged, enriched and named Town of Gold (Suvarna-puri) entrusted the service of god to the Buddhist Acharyas and regulated all the details of the religion by a chart inscribed on a copper-plate which he deposited in the convent of Carumati.

The dynasty which continues or which replaces according to the various traditions, the family of Nimisa opens authentic history at last. These princes pretend to be connected to the Suryavamsa to the family of the Sun which has Rama for hero. According to the Bhuddistic Vamsavali, the adoptive heir of Bhaskaravarman, Bhumivarman was a Ksatriya Suryavamsi connected to the Brahmanic clan (gotra) of the Gautamas. He came from Kapilvastu into Nepal with the Buddha and had definitely settled in the country. The inscription of Jayadeva to Pashupati gives the mythical genealogy of the Solar family of Nepal which it exposes thus.

Brahma had a great grand-son Surya (the sun) who begetted (or engendered) Manu who begetted Iksvaku who begetted Vikuksi. Vikuksi had a son (Kakutstha) who had for son Visvagacva. In his posterity twenty eight generations later was born Sagara who begetted Assamanjasa, who begetted Amsumat who begetted Dillipa, who had for son Bhagiratha. From the latter descended Raghu, Aja, Dasharatha. Eight generations later, the solar race produced Lichhavi. From Lichhavi, there sprung 'a race which is the unique adornment of the earth famous in the world worthy of the respect of the most powerful and even the gods and which further carries the very pure name of Lichhavi, triumphant white as a pencil (of rays) of Moon crescents, equal to the course of the Ganga'.[24]

In the course of the time, this race engendered at Paspapura (Pataliputtra), the virtuous King Supuspa. Without stopping at the twenty- three kings in the interval, one comes to Jayadeva the victorious separated by eleven generations from Vrisadeva.

The genealogy mentioned here is not entirely in accord, in its heroic parts, with the Puranas. Visvagacva is not in the Visnhu

Purana, for example, the grand-son of Vikusi, but the son of his great grand son. Between Visvagacva and Sagara there stretches not twenty eight generations but thirty two according to the same Purana. Beginning from Dasharatha, the bifuracation is definitive between the Puranas tradition and the official geneaology of Nepal.

Rama and his posterity are too popular undoubtedly for an adventious branch to be grafted openly on their bough. The complainant chancellery prefers to separate itself from the parent stem with Dasaratha and boldly leap into the unknown, to unite again after an arbitrary interval of eight generations, to Licchavi, suddenly sprung from an unknown source.

The Brahmanic Puranas have not registered the name of Licchavi filiation. They have in emulation of one another, observed a silence around a too popular souvenir with the heretics not to be compromised. But the Buddhistic and Jainas texts, have in spite of the Brahmans, saved from oblivion the name of the illustrious family, who governed Vaicali, the most flourishing city of India, in the days of Buddha and Jaina. The Licchavis had established thither a constituion which recalls a little the consular institutious of Rome, the king seconded by viceroy and by a commander-in-chief, were besides assisted by the 'Ancients' of the clan, united in general assembly. Situated between the Maghada and the country of the Mallas, the Vaicali of the Licchavis harmoniously combined the institutions of its neighbours, monarchical in the south, oligarchical in the north. Buddhists and Jainas have disputed each other, in their legends as well as in their real activity, the honour of including the Licchavis among their patrons and zealots. The Licchavis solicit and receive relics of the Buddha after the cremation elsewhere, on learning of the death of jaina, they express their mourning by an illumination like a symbolic homage to 'the light of the intelligence which had gone'. The Jaina canon enumerates the Licchavis among the gotras (families) renowned of the same rank as that of the very clan of the Jaina as the Brahmans, as the descendants of Kuru and of Iksvaku, the Lunar race and the Solar race[25] The documents do not permit to follow in detail the vicissitudes of the Licchavi clan; but in the IVth century of the christian era, the family reapprears suddenly in history without having lost nothing of its prestige. Chandra Gupta I, the founder of the imperial dynasty of the Guptas, the predecessor and the father of the glorious emperor Samudra Gupta, obtains a spouse in the clan of the Licchavis and powerful as he draws from this alliance a vanity which he displays with pleasure; his gold coins represent the king and queen side by side, designated each one separately by the legend: 'Chandra Gupta, Kumara Deva' and on the reverse the legend which accompanies a figure of Fortune sitting, carries: 'Licchavayas' (The Licchavis) Samudra Gupta in his turn glorified being 'the son of a daughter of the Licchavis' (Licchavidauhitra) and this mention is scrupulously added to the name of Samudra Gupta in the epigraphic formulary of the-

whole dynasty. L.Pleet, followed by M. Vincent smith had thought that the Licchavis allied to the Guptas were the Licchavis kings of Nepal; he began from here to suppose that the Gupta era was of Nepalese origin. Nothing authorizes such a conjecture, neither from the Nepalese nor the Hindu side.[26]

In spite of the notoriety of the Licchavi clan, and its prestige consecrated by centuries the tenacious rancour of the Brahmans assigns to it in orthodox society the lowest of ranks, The Manu code classified the Lichhavis (X, 22) with the Mallas and the Khasas exactly the three names dominating of the Nepalese history like the tribes sprung from the Ksatriyas who had been excommunicated (Vratyas), indignant of the initiation by the Savitri.[27]

Here we are a good distance from the genealogy which the inscription of Jaya deva pompously displayed. The Buddhistic texts mention a particular legend on the origin of the family. The spouse of the king of Benares conceived a ball of flesh red as the flower 'kin' (Hibiscus), which she hastened to throw into the Ganges; a hermit gathered it; fifteen days later, the balt divlded in two after another fortnight, each half produced five placentas. Another fifteen days passed; one of the pieces then became a boy, the other a girl. The boy was of a yellow colour like that of gold; the girl was as white as silver. By force of compassion, the fingers of the hermit metamorphosed into breasts and the milk went down the childrens' throat as a limpid water down a jewel Mani; as the refulgence was alike within and without the hermit gave to the children the name of Licchavi[28]. Other exegesis interpreted this by name by 'this skin' or again 'in the same skin' in memory of the origin of the two children. All these explanations are based on a so-called popular or skilful etymology which thought of recognizing in the name of the Licchavis the word 'chavi' which signifies at the same time 'skin' 'colour' and 'refulgence'. The tale itself places in hand the work of a theme fairly ordinary; thus it is that in the Maha Bharata (1,115) the hundred sons of Dhritarastra are born from a ball of flesh which Gandhari through impatience has prematurely rejected.

The complaisance and skill of the genealogists saved the dynasty of the Nepalese Licchavis from a difficult choice between the disagreeing tradition; Licchavi, the eponym remains hanging in emptiness between eight anonymous kings, issues of Dasaratha and the uncertain lineage of anonymous kings which ended up in Supuspa; this personage unknown elsewhere seems to have been drawn out from the legendary annals of Puspapura. 'The town of Flowers' otherwise said pataliputra the Palibothra of Megasthenes and the Greeks. A new series of twenty three anonymous kings spreads from Supuspa to Jayadeva which seems to be considered as the founder of the Nepalese branch. The winding is fairly complicated and the stages obscure enough to awaken distrust; an authentic filiation would have better marked its direction. After the Licchavis of Nepal in

the middle of the VIIth century of the Christian era, the Tibetan dynasty which Srong-tsan Gam-po had just founded and which still showed the evident mark of its barbarous origins did not pretend the less to be connected to the clan of the Licchavis, especially to the Shakyas of the mountains. The Buddhistic church in serving their vanity of upstarts, rewared their zeal and attached it to them more closely. Already by the same procedure, it had supplied to the victorious Mauryas, a genealosy which connected them to the Sakyas sheltered in the Himalaya after their dispersion. The Constantine of India and the Charlemagne of Tibet would in a loftiness of whim call cousins the Licchavis of Nepal.

The solar pretensions of the Nepalese kings were probably still more suspicious; they must have been worth those of the Gurkha king whom the Rana of Udaypur refused to sanction. In spite of this serious check, the Gurkha kings of Nepal continue to give themselves for the solar lineage, Surajbansis (colloquial form of Surya-vamcis); the Surajbansis lead the Clan Sahi, the first of the noble clans or Thakurs. The Gurungs of Darjeeling who are hardly (Hinduized) have a solar clan (Suraj-bansi). There is not a single tribe even including the Moghul tribes of Eastern Bengal, which does not claim this title; second rate Brahmans have revealed to them on return of a salary their distant and brilliant origins; their ancestors were authentic Ksatriyas; but when Vishnu, under the form of Parashu-Rama came to massacre, on the twenty first resumption, the Ksatriya to avenge the honour of the Brahmanic caste, they threw away the sacred thread which marked them out to the fury of the divine hero. In 1871, they went and asked their zamindar (proprietor and responsible administrator) to return them the privilege of wearing the Brahmanic cordon; repulshed with disdain, they did not lose courage; they accompanied their second petition with an offer of 500 rupees; the third position was assisted with 2000 rupees and they found themselves heard. They have ever since organized themselves in three gotras, separated by the rules of matrimonial exclusion have forbidden marriage to widows, have adopted the usage of precious marriage and tended by a continuous effort, to make themselves worth of this solar race where the bakchich and their perseverance have introduced them.

In approaching positive history the compilations and the uncertainties of criticism come and throw confusion in the beautiful and simple order of whimsical chronologies.

The unity is maintained almost among the Vamsavalis up to the 28th (or 29) prince of the Licchavi dynasty.

1. Bhumivarman	61 years V.(W.B.)
Bhoomy Burmah	41 years K.
2. Chandravarman	61 years
	B. V. (W)

Chunder Burmah	21 years K.
3. Jayavarman	82 years V. B.
Joy Burmah	62 years K.
Candravarman	(W. probably by an error)
4. Varsavarman	61 years V.B. W.
Bharkabarma	57 years K.
Breesh-Burmah	
5. Sarvavarman	78 years V. B. (W)
Surbo Burmah	49 years K.
6. Jyesthavarman	75 years V. B. (W)
Jeest Burmah	48 years K.
7. Harivarman	76 year s V. B. (W)
(9) Hurry Burmah	–K (but reversed –with the following one)
8. Kuveravarman	88 years V.B.
(8) Kobber Burmah	76 years K.
9. Siddhivarman	61 years V. B. (W)
Sidhe Burmah	–K
10. Haridattavarman	81 years V. B. (W)
Hurry Dutt Burmah	39 years K.
11. Vasudatta Varman	83 years V. 63 years B. (W)
Basso Dutt Burmah	33 years K.
12. Pativarman	53 years B.(W)
Pativarsavarman	– V
Sreeputtry	3 years K.
13. Civavriddhivarman	54 years B. 65 years V.(W)
Seobreddy	77 years K.
14. Vasantavarman	61 years B. V. (W)
Bussunt Deo	—K
15. Shivavarman	62 years B.(W)
Shivadevavarman	67 years V.
Deo	57 years K.
(16 bis) Rudradevavarman	66 years B.(W)
16. Vrisadevavarman	61 years B. V. (W)
Brikh Deo	57 years K.
17. Shankaradeva	65 B. V. (W)
Sunker Deo	50 years K.
18. Dharmadeva	59 years B. 51 years V.(W)
Bhurma Deo	51 years K.
19. Manadeva	49 years B. V. (W)
Maun Deo	32 years K.
20. Mahideva	51 years B.
Mahadeva	36 years V.(W)
Mahe Deo	51 years K.
21. Vasantadeva	36 years B. V.

Bussunt Deo	56 years K.
22. Udayadevavarman	35 years B. 37 years V. (W)
Oodey Deo	47 years K.
23. Manadeva (II)	35 years B. V. (W)
Maun Deo (II)	45 years K.
24. Gunakamadeva	30 years B.(W)
Sunakamadeva	20 years V.
Sookaum	50 years K.
25. Shivadevavarman	51 years B. V. (W)
Seo Deo	41 years 6 months K.
26. Narendradevavarman	42 years B. C. (W)
Nurrender Deo	34 years K.
27. Bhimadevavarman	36 years B. V. (W)
Bhem Deo Burmah	16 years K.

Total duration: B. 1779–V. 1698 years-K. 1428 years, 6 months.

The first prince of the Suryavamsi or Licchavi dynasty (or according to the Vamasavali of Kirkpatrick, the direct heir of the lineage of Nimisa), Bhumivarman ascended the throne in 1389 of the Kali-yuga (B. V. W.). This date which corresponds to the year 1712 B. C. does not exactly frame up the indication of the Vamsavalis on the duration of the anterior dynasties but it must also be recognized that it differs from it very little. The years of the Kiratas and the Somavamcis added together would give 1118-351=1469 (according to B. and V.) and from this total must be deducted the reign of the first Kirata. Yalamba (ra) which precedes the Kali-yuga, remains in the lot 1450 years, with a difference of about 60 years on the date assigned to Bhumivarman. It does not enter my mind (I am keen on emphasizing this point) to hold these dates as authentic figures; it is a matter of following up the procedures of the author of the Vamsavalis in their chronological constructions. The date of the accession of Bhumivarman is solitary of the date assigned to the establishment or the restoration of Pashupati under Pasupreksa deva in 1234 K.Y. (B. W.) or 1239 (V.), again that the one adorns rather badly the other. The interval between them is 155 (or 150, V.) years; and yet Pasupreksa deva and Bhumivarman are separated by one reign only, long, it is ture, by 88 (V.) or 74 (K.) years. Undoubtedly the Hindus are too little careful of chronology to pride themselves of introducing therein, even when they invent them, probability and logic; but these two dates, close to each other, and standing out clearly outlined in the very midst of the misty centuries which envelop them seem to be based on positive facts; they represent the unintelligent or faithless translation in year of the Kali-yuga of dates orginally expressed in another era. I have already shown by authentic examples, how the real dates risked getting transformed by

the inversion of figures and how the traditional dates represented arbitrary combinations of real figures. One could be tempted but it is a hypothesis which requires the most prudent reserves to obrerve thus that the numbers 1234 and 1389 present as common features; the figures 3 and 1 could restore in their place 3124 and 3189 K.Y.; for example, which would correspond to 23 and 38 of the Christian era and which would harmonize very well with the epoch of the Licchavi era such as I have thought myself able to calculate. The establishment of the first Hindu dynasty in Nepal would then recall by a tempting analogy, the subsequent establishment of the other Hindu dynasties in the country. Like the Musulman conquest expelled into the Himalayas, the Brahmanic kings of the Tarrai and the refractory Rajputs who prepared the greatness of the Ghurkas the invasion of the Scythic tribes in the valley of the Ganges, in the thereabouts of the Christian era, must have expelled in the mountain the still semi-barbarous princes who had been dispossessed, togesher with their valorous adventures. The inscriptions attest that Mathura held sway over the Kouchans; the Murundas who had also hailed from the distant steppes, reigned in the glorious capital of India, at Pataliputra[29]. And it is from Pataliputra that the official tradition brings Jayadeva into Nepal; Jayadeva was the descendent of Licchavi. Thus Jayadeva separated from Vrisadeva by eleven reigns, according to the inscription of the Pashupati, probably the Jayavarman of the Vamsavalis, the third of the Suryavamsis and the grand-son of Bhumivarman separated from Vrisadeva by a lapse of thirteen reigns. The figures from both sides are in close connection; the Vamsavalis have been able to introduce in their lists, which always appears like the tableau of a continuous folio the names of two princes, who have not reigned, but which it was necessary to recall to guarantee the legitimate transmission of the power.

Most of the kings mentioned ending with Vrisadeva are scarcely more than names. Bhumivarman (1) is supposed to have changed the royal residence to Banacvara. Jayavarman (3)or Jayadeva (Varman, key for this aleternation of forms the name of (16) Shivavarman or Shivadevvarman)is designated in the inscription of Pashupati as 'the Victorious' (Vijayin) either by allusion to his name or to recall the victory which won the throne to the Licchavi race- Haridattavarman (II) alone seems to have left positive memories. The unanimous testimony of the Vamsavalis represent him as the Zealot of Narayana. He founded the temple of Cikara-Naranyana (K.) or again he unearthed and brought to light the image of Jalacayana Narayana (W.) or he edified the four most illustrious temples consecrated to Narayana, Gangu, Cainju Icangu Cikhara (B.V.). Epigraphy comes to the help of tradition; an inscription to Amsuvarman, at Harigaon, attributing a donation to Jalacayana proves that this worship is anterior to the Thakuries.

Immediately before Vriasadeva, the

Vamsavalis of Wright and of Bhagvanlal insert a King Rudradevavarman who is missing in other documentt. Under this prince a native of Kapilvastu, Sunayacri Mishra was supposed to have gone to Lhasa to be taught by the Lamas then he had crosed over from Tibet into Nepal, had settled in Patan and founded the Yampi bihar the north of the town, near the chaitya of Ahsoka; two of his disciples Govardhana Mishra were supposed to have called from Kapilvastu to rejoin him and had in their turn, each founded a convent; the Konti bihar and the Pinta bihar. The mention of Lhasa betrays the anarchnism. Lhasa was stiil barbarous and closed to Buddhism. King Rudradeva has been introduced here by confusion. If the traditon which places Sunayacri Mishra in connection with Rudradeva contains a portion of the truth, it concerns per haps the Rudradeva who, in the Vamsavalis precedes the first Mallas to whom he is connected and who has left a reputation of fervent Buddhist.

'Vriasadeva was very pious; every day he nourished Vajra-yogini before taking his meals; he repaired the chaitya of Dharmadatta, in the N.W. corner Pashupati and built several viharas to serve as lodgings to the Bhiksus' (Wright 117). The epigraphy is in accord with the Vamsavali. The great grand-son of Vrisadeva, Manadeva in his inscription of Changu Narayan, celebrates his grandfatner in these terms; 'The incomparable king whom they called Vrisadeva majestic and powerful was faithful to his word; he could have been taken for the sun (Savitar) with his luminous ray, when seen surrounded with his sons, eminently noble, learned, astute, constant the soul taught to perform duty'. Jayadeva at Pashupati, says the same; "Vrisadeva was a famous king, an excellent prince; he loved above all the doctrine of the Sugata (Buddha)" He owed his piety for having miraculously returned to life and Yama, the merciless, went even so far as to blame his too zealous providers for having taken so virtuous a man in their lake. After his resurrection, he erected an image of Dharmaraja Lokeivara near the Matirajya Chaitya in Patan and built a Panchabuddha near the Godavari. The worship of Balbala, who was the first to dig the soil for cultivation, dates from this epoch. The brother of Vrisadeva, Balarcana was his rival in piety and virtue; but less fortunate than him, he lived long enough to assist to the triump of Cainkaracarya and to the ruin of Buddhism, he was compelled to allow his head to be shaved off and lost the Brahmanic thread; he was forcibly married to a nun. The legend, I have already shown it, has no other motive than the name of Shankaradeva, like the name of Vrisadeva and so many other royal names, is simply one of the sectarian appellations in which is expressed the zeal of Nepal for the religion of Shiva.

Shankaradeva 1st has left fairly faint reminiscence. The inscription of pashupati is satisfied in naming his as the son of Vrisadeva; the stanza which is consecrated to him in the inscription at Changu Narayan is very vague; 'The son of Vrisadeva, who was called Shankaradeva, governed a flori

shing empire; he was invincible to his enemies in struggles, liberal, sincere, his courage, his munificence, his dignity, earned him an abundant glory. He watched over the earth like a lion. The temple of pashupati received from this prince important donations; an iron tricula erected at the gate of the north; a linga, the Viratecvara in the south, close to the river; an image of Nandi at the western gate. All these monuments still exist, unfortunately without commemorative inscription. The convent of Mayuravarna in Patan was also founded by Shankaradeva in favour of the Brahman Jayasri.

Dharmadeva son of Shankaradeva was a prince respectful of the law; his acts were in compliance with the law; the law was his own person; he sought to drill his soul, his merits were excellent; he had legitimately inherited from a powerful kingdom, handed down by a series of ancestors and he legitimately extended it by his political sagacity. He shone with the rays of his energy, which possessed the power magical formulae; his heart was as pure as his body; this prince of the earth had the brightness of the (Inscr. of Changu Narayan). This panegyric is only a paraphrase of the name of Dharmadeva, formed by 'dharma' (the law). According to Kirkapatrick, it was Dharmadeva, who had dedicated to Pashupati the large gilded statue of the bu l Nandi, placed before the entrance of the temple; he is also known in certain legends to have been the founder of Swayambunath.

Dharmadeva's successor was his son, Manadeva, the Suryavamci is not very prominent in the Vamsavali. 'They say that he built the Khasa-chaitya, in Patan, the complete name of this monastry is: Manadeva- Samskarita chakra-mahavihar'. The Vamsavali of Kirkpatrick adds 'that he had an interview, so they says with the god 'Sumbhoo' (Syayambhu) to whom he erected a temple'. Here, we heve had already the legend invades history; it is so well developed, that it ends up dividing Manadeva in two; it has invented another prince of the same name, son of the mythical King Vikamanti; this prince, a parricide, through obedience, edified the Buddhnath to expiate his involuntary crime, he further composed a hymn, which has remained popular, in honour of the Three Buddhistic jewels. His mother, however had governed the nation with great justice to such a degree that one and all were high in their praises for her. She built a number of monuments and lastly consecrated an image of Nava Sagra Bhagavati due to the artist who had already made the Bhagavati of Palanchauk and the Sobha-Bhagavati. Later, under Shankara deva (11) the 'Thakuri, the people frightened by the terrible aspect of this image, buried it in the soil and covered it with stones.

The documents in fairly large number permit to analyse at least partly the legend. The mother of Manadeva, who has imposed herself to the capricious souvenir of the annalists, shows off by her vigorous personality, over the long series of personages without importance.

The inscription of the pillar of Changu Narayan, engraved by order of Manadeva, is almost entirely consecrated to the glory of the queen mother; Dharmadeva had a spouse of pure race and dignity the most excellent Rajyavati; one would have thought the Laksmi (Fortune) of this other Hari (Visnhu) when he had illuminated the universe with his rays of glory; this sovereign departed to the third Heaven as if he had gone to a pleasure garden. And she then remained dazed, consumed, nervous..... languishing she, who took a delight before her widowhood, in feeding the gods with the performance of regular rites. This queen Rajyavati, who is called the wife of the monarch, would only be in fact but Shri attached to him, to follow him faithfully under this orher aspect. she to whom was born here below the irresproachable hero, Manadeva the king, whose charm never ceases from refreshing the world, comparable to an autumn Moon. Having returned thither the voice choked with sobs sighing longingly the face streaming with tears; she said softly to her son: 'Your father is gone to Heaven Ah my son, now that your father has gone off, what have I needed to breathe ? Exercise royalty my dear son. I shall follow the way of my husband, what shall I do with the chains of hope, which are fashioned in a thousand ways for the benefit of pleasure to live without my husband because the time during which we spend together passes like a delusive dream; I am going.' Then her son, afflicted to see her, thus. tenderly resting his head on the feet of his mother, addressed her his prayer; what am I to do with pleasures, what am I to do with the joys of life, if I am separated from you ? It is I who will die first and you shall then depart for Heaven. Placed in the lotus of her mouth, mixed with the tears of bird captured in a net. And together with her virtuous son. she got busy in person over the funeral ceremonies, the mind entirely purified by virtue, alms, mortification, abstinence, voluntary pratices and distributing all her fortune to the Brahmans to increase the merits of her husband, she seemed in the midst of the rites so much she had it to heart to be Arundhati herself. And her son vigorous, with energy, heroism constancy, patient loving to his subjects, a man who acted but did not boast, who smiled when speaking, who always the first addressed the word valorous without pride having attained the height of the knowledge of the world. friend of the destitute and orphans greeting to his hosts removing all shyness in those requesting it, manifesting his true virility by his praise worthy skill in the handling of weapons to attack and defence with his powerful and graceful arms the skin soft and smooth like wrought gold, the soulders fleshy, defiant with his eyes with the blood of the lotus into flower is like incarnated love; there is a festival for the coquetries of those loving one another. 'My father he soliloquized had adorned the flourishing earth with beautiful pillars. I have received the initiation according to the Ksatriya Procedure by combats and battles. I am going very soon to equip myself for a campaign towards the eastern regions to destroy my enemies, and I shall enthrone those kings

docile to my orders". And bowing before his mother whose sorrow was vanishing, he spoke to her thus; 'O my mother, I can not acquit myself towards my father by austerities with stain; I can only humbly serve his feet by the rites of arms in which I excel, I shall go presently' and the mother of the king was extremely happy, gave him leave. He proceeded by the road which led to the East, the treacherous vassals who dictated in the East, prostrated themselves, bowed their heads and allowed the garlands to slip off their necks; he subjugated them to the respect of his sovereign authority. Then fearless like a lion with a thick and formidable looking mane, he proceeded towards the Western regions. He learnt that his vassal was badly behaving himself thither; then shaking the bead and slowly touching his arm which seemed like the trunk of an elephant, he said resolutely, "If he does not come to my call, my heroism will know how to bring him to obedience' But what need is there of long phrases which are of no avail? Few words suffice from even today 'O my uncle, beloved brother by my mother cross over the Gandaki, rival of the ocean in width, in unevenness of surface, in motions where the water rolls in billows in the awful tornado. With hundreds of horses and elephants caparisoned; I cross the river and I follow your army'. This decision taken, the sovereign held his promise to the last. He conquered the town of Malla, then slowly returned to his country, the soul was happy and gave an inexhaustible wealth to the Brahmans. And Rajyavati, the virtuous queen, heard her son speaking to her firmly, 'and you also, my mother, if your heart is joyous, make pious donation'.

The mother of Manadeva, Rajyavati, does not cease from being foremost in the list of this long inscription. Her panegyric thrown into the shade, the funeral eulogy of her defunct husband and balances the panegyric of the reigning king At the death of Dharmadeva, it is she who calls as if by personal choice, Manadeva, her son, to the throne and who hands him over the power. The interview of the mother and son recalls the scene, portrayed with a picturesque conciseness in the inscription of the pillar at Allahabad, where Candra Gupta Ist designates in the presence of his courtiers moved by various emotions, Samudra Gupta as the heir to the crown. He is a noble, he said kissing him his emotion betrayed by a bristling hair; the court breathed with contentment and his equals of birth raised on him withered looks; the eye quivering with emotion, laden with tears, perspicacious, his father was looking at him and said; 'Govern then the whole world' (1,7). But here, the mother and son alone occupy the scene and their discourse is prolonged with an abundance, extremely rare in Hindu epigraphy. The mother,--Agrippine or 'Blanche de Castille'?--wishes to follow her husband in death and renounces to the pyre on the objurgations of her son. She lived to be the venerated adviser and well informed counsellor of the new king; associated to power, she endorses the military operations of her son; she designates

her own brother as commander-in-chief; Manadeva only gets away from his mother to fall under the tutelage of his maternal uncle. And when he returned victoriously from his campaigns, Rajyavati does not wish to mix her pious donations with those of her sons'. She has her Brahmans and her temples, her paupers and especially her debtors (those obligated to her).

The pillar of Changu Narayan is dated from the month of Jyaistha 386. Eleven months later, in Vaishakha 387, an image of Vishnu is dedicated in behalf of the queen mother Rajyavati with the purpose of increasing her merits. The formula (or inscription) has a character rather funeral; it leads to believe, but without positively establishing it, that Rajyavati had died in the interval. The monument which is consecrated to her is a bas-relief which represents Vishnu under the aspect of Trivikrama when he covered the world in three strides; around him 'Gods and Saints worship the unique protector of the world of beings'. The style of the work is violent almost brutal; the Nepalese of to-day believe in recognizing in it. Vajrayogini one of the Tantric forms of the goddess Devi. The Vamsavali mentions on its side that an image due to the mother of Manadeva, the Neva-Sagara Bhagavati, inspires the passers-by with an intolerable terror.

The filial affection which seems to be an essential trait of Manadeva character has also produced the long inscription unfortunately anonymous of the pillar of Harigaon. The author, unknown, addresses himself to Saint Dwai-payana, more popular under the name of Veda Vyasa; he extols his science, sagacity, merits, services rendered to the world he had taught in the practice of duties, then his hymn completed, he speaks out; 'I arrange as best I can be very frail word. You pray instill happiness to my father'. The analogy of the sentiment, of the language, of the character, of the very monument brings close together the pillar of Harigaon to that of Changu Narayan. The pillar of Harigaon carries precisely a statue of Garuda, the Nepalese Changu, the riding animal of Vishnu associated to his religion on the hill of Changu Narayan. It is also an image of Vishnu which Manadeva consecrates to the increase of the merits of his mother Rajyavati, Thus, Manadeva seems to testify a real predilection in behalf of Vishnuism, like Haridatta had already done several generations before him. But the traditions which attribute him an interview with Swayambhu and the edification of the temple of Buddhanath, leads to believe that his devotions had nothing of a sanctity of exclusive nature.

The name, even of Manadeva evokes a religion of an enigmatic nature. Among the Nepalese kings and especially among the Licchavis, the names are often borrowed from the thousand vocables of the Shiva. Vrisadeva, Cankaradeva, Shivadeva, Rudradeva, etc. Others have the character of Vishnu; Harivarman, Hardidatta; others derive from secondary divinities; Vasanta

Kama etc. But the word Mana in the name of Manadeva seems to be completely foreign to the religious lexicon. Sanscrit really possesses the word mana, it even has two homonyms under this beading, differing in origin and meaning; one drawn from the root ma 'to measure' signifies the measure; the other from the root man 'to think' signifies the high self esteems. These two notions have no personal role in the Hindu pantheon. Must it be interpreted thus: (the king) who has for god the sentiment of his worth ? if the word mana appears in the royal names, it also appears in those of saints or learned men ; the Jainas number among their doctors Manatunga Suri, Manatunga Acarya, a famous hymn of this Acarya, the Bhaktamara-stotra, ends up in a pun which seems to enlighten the worth of mana in: 'tam manaturigam avaca samupaity Laksmih'.

'He who exalts in the sentiment of his person (or, this Manatunga), fortune follows him whether he wishes it or not'. Perhaps it is the motto which is suitable as a paraphrase to the name of Manadeva. Whatever the case may be created by king Manadeva or gathered by him the word 'mana', leaves a lasting mark in the past of Nepal. After Manadeva Ist, the Licchavi, the name of Manadeva reappears twice again in the dynastic lists; once among the Licchavis four generations later; and at another period among the second Thakuris a short period before the Mallas. Long after the Licchavis in the XIVth and XVth century of the Christian era, the Mallas continue to worship as a tutelary divinity, in associating him to the glorious Pashupati, a mysterious goddess 'who has granted them the favour of her protection', and this goddess is Manecvari the Our Lady of Mana[31]. The formula is still more brightly illuminated when one sees a Thakuri of Nayokot at the same epoch present himself, in the same terms as the favourite of Gandaki. The Gandaki which bathes Nayokot with her course is naturally the queen of the valley which she gives over as a fief to the princes of her choice Manecvari disposes with the valley of Nepal.

The word Mana is also found in the name of the palace which serves a residence to the Licchavi dynasty Managriha 'the house of Mana' either it be that Manadeva founded it or that Manecvari protects it. An inscription of Amsuvarman at Harigaon mentions the convent of Mana (Sri-Mana-Vihara) and the linga of Manecvari, on which the king attributes donations. The successor of Amsuvarman, Jisnugupta has for grandfather a certain Mana-gupta. Lastly, a series of ancient coins in Nepal, of copper carries the legend Manuka '(Coin) with the mark of Mana'. They represent on the obverse a divinity sitting on a lotus throne, the left hand resting on the hip, the right hand uplifted with outstretched finger; the attitude suggests a Buddhistic figure as was indicated by M. Bendall at the foot in beautiful Gupta characters; Shri Bhogini (Cunningham) or Shri Bhagini (Bendall). The reverse of the coin shows a lion walking towards its right with the stem

of a lotus, a flower and a bird on the field; the legend in Gupta characters, shows Shri Manuka. Mr. Cunningham has not attempted to explain these legends. M. Bendall mentions the connection of the formula Manuṅka with Manadeva and Managṛiha, but in quite an unexpected manner, he inteiprets Shri Bhagini as a commemorative inscription, destined to recall the dedication of a linga by Bhogadevi sister (Bhagini) of King Amsuvarman. It is to swell up excessively the importance of quite an ordinary foundation one is within his right to feel surprised that King Amsuvarman, who coins usually in his name, has made himself scarce in circumtance and has not even mentioned the name of his sister, as he has done it in the commemorative inscription. In fact, the perusal Shri Bhogini seems positive. Bhogini really belongs to the language in vague according to the dictionaries of Amara and of Hemachandra, it designates the spouses of the king, with the exception of the one who has received the anointing; this spouse is called mahisi. According to Bharata, the Bhogini is a spouse of second rank who has a good character, little vanity, no pride, kindness, modesty and patience. But one hardly expects to see this title on a coin and less again without the name of a person. Bhogini is very fortunate in bearing the name of a divinity[32], which would be precisely the figure represented ? The lion on the right walking with the tail upturned is to be found again on other Nepalese coins of Amsuvarman, or Jisnu Gupta.

The numismatists (Cunningham, Rapson) are agreed to mention is the general composition of ancient Nepalese coins, a connection with copper coinage of the Yaudheyas, which formed for a long time a powerful confederation of Ksatriyas tribes in Malava and which the powerful Rudraman, King Ksatripa of the Surastra, glorifies in having vanquished (towards 150 J. C.). The one and the other coinage is independent of the coinage of the Kouchans. The Mananka formula seems to testify on the contrary a Gupta influence. It is the Guptas who seem to have placed in vogue appellations of this type; Samudra Gupta stamps his coin with the word parakrama 'triumphant march', and in his inscription of Allahabad, he takes the title (1,17) of parakramanka '(the king) who has as a mark parakrama'.

His successor Candra Gupta II, affects a predilection for the word vikrama 'heroism' and stamps on a series of his coins the legend: Vikramanka (the king) who has for mark vikrama'. The procedure has found other imitators in Nepal; a series of coins analogous to the Mananka, bear the legend Gunanka. The obverse represents a divinity sitting in the same attitude as in the Mananka; on the reverse an elephant turned towards his left proper. The Gunankas are manifestly the stamp of a Gunadeva, like the Mananka of Manandeva; the Vamsavalis place precisely a Guna (Kama) deva Vth reigns after Manadeva 1st and the name of King Gana (Guna) deva is seen on an inscription of the Vth century Samvat, at Kisipidi.

Since King Manadeva has led me to speak of the ancient coins of Nepal, I shall mention here, the coins with the mark of Pashupati which coins are byfar the most numerous since they comprise by themselves half the ancient coins of Nepal, actually known one of the new Vajrasana Buddha; another has been found in a small neighbouring stupa; others again, removed by workmen in the course of excavations have been acquired at the bazar at Gaya, neighbouring Mahabodhi. It is evidently Nepalese pilgrime who had brought them and left them behind as an offering to the temple. The other ancient coins of Nepal gathered today in public or private collections come from an old temple fallen down at Kathmandu; they have been taken out from the ruins; the most ancient manuscripts of Nepal have the same origin. How many analogous opportunities have been lost. The Capuchins of the XVIIIth century allowed among others the escape of a unique chance. Father Ginseppe mentions the event in details.

'To the East of Kathmandu at a distance of about two or three miles, there is a place named Tolou bathed by a small watercourse, whose waters have been consecrated by superstition. People of high birth when in danger of death are brought thither. This place borders a temple which is in no way inferior to the richest among those seen in the capitals. Tradition mentions that in two or three places in the kingdom of Nepal, are buried in the ground precious treasures; the inhabitants are convinced that Tolou is comprised in those places, but with the exception of the king; it is allowed to nobody to make use of these treasures and the king himself can only make use of them in an urgent necessity. This is the manner, so it is said in which these treasures have been accumulated; when offerings have enriched a temple, it was destroyed and deep caves were dug out in the ground one below the other, wherein were deposited the gold, silver, gilded copper and all other precious objects. During my sojourn in the kingdom of Nepal, Gainprejas (Jaya Prakasha), king of Kathmandu, being in very great need of money to pay his troops in order to resist. Prithivi Narayan ordered the research of the treasures of Tolou. After digging to a great depth the first vault was reached, from where was removed one lakh of rupees worth of gilded copper. Gainprejas paid his troops with this sum. A quantity of small statues in gold or gilded copper was also discovered, which the workmen in charge of the excavation secretly carried away. I have the positive assurances of this fact. One evening that I was wandering alone in the country, a pauper whom I met, offered me the statue of an idol in gold or in gilded copper which could have weighed five or six rupees sikhas and which he carefully carried under his arm; but I refused it. The agents of Gainprejas had hardly completed the removal of the wealth from the first cave, when the army of Prithivi Narayan arrived at Tolou, took possession of the place where the treasure was deposited and closed the gate of the cave after having replaced all the copper, which had been removed in the

exterior. During the same war, some soldiers of Prithivi Narayan who had entrenched themselves on the hill of Swayambunath in digging the trenches which bordered on the tombs, found large pieces of gold, the great men of Tibet being in the custom of having themselves buried with a great quantity of this metal. The old coin pieces which had found their way in circulation either secretly or publicly did not remain long in it; Prithivi Narayan, one who became master of the country, compelled forcily the deposit in the Treasury of the gold and silver coinage and restamped them entirely so well that thirty years later, Hamilton was unable to procure himself at Kathmandu, coins anterior to the Ghurkas.

The coins in the name of Pashupati present types of great varieties; their diametre, between 21 and 22 milimetres is less by little to those of Mananka (24mm) and to the Gunankas (23mm), their weights go from 6gr. 15 to 9 gr. 85 in passing through the intermediaries 7gr. 40: 8gr. 30; 9gr. 46. All these coins are of bronze. The essential features of the Pashupati coins, compared to the personal stamps (Mananka, Gunanda, coins of Amsuvarman, of Jisnu Gupta of Vaicravana) are that they represent a unity of less value about the three fourths of the others. The answer almost exactly to the actual paisas of Nepal. The obverse of the Pashupati coins shows frequently the bull of Shiva, Nandi, either crouching or erect; sometimes it is replaced by the trident of Shiva, the tricula erect and crossed by a hatchet, often also is figured a personage sitting in various attitudes, who carries a crown on his head. On the reverse, sometimes the Suna disc with star spangled rays, sometimes a vase from which comes out a flowery branch. The legend, Pashupati in Gupta characters is sometime arranged on a horizontal line, sometimes divided in symmetrical syllables around the central design, trident or flower vase: PA CU / PA TI

The name of Manadeva still actually survives in Nepal; it designates one of the Thakurs clans, otherwise expressed a clan recognized by royal blood [3]. It is adjacent thither (Nepal) to the Mallas heirs of another dynastic title which we shall find in the Nepalese history. Perhaps the name of Manadeva is borrowed from the eponym of the Mana clan.

Besides the two inscriptions of Mana deva which I have already studied and which date from 386 and 387, there still exist two particular dedications which date back to his reign; one discovered by Bhagvanlal (No. 2) is engraved on a square stone, which formed at one time the plinth of a linga at Pashupati, and which serves today as a base to the trident erected by Cainkaradeva 1st. 'Jayavarman with the pure soul has thanks to the favour of the sovereign's feet. His Majesty Manadeva in the year 413, erected with devotion a linga named Jayacavara for the god of the world

with the sovereign and he has founded a perpetual income for the religion (or worship) of this venerable linga'.

The dedication opens out with a verse in vasanta-tilaka metre. The other inscription which I found at Kathmandu is traced on the sole a statue now vanished and replaced since by a Mahakala; 'In the year 402, whilst the king Manadeva is wisely ruling the earth, the fifteenth day of the clear (moonlight) fortnight, in the month of Ashoka, the manager of a company of merchants, Guhamitra has erected by devotion a holy Divakara under the name of Indra a field in the locality of Yathagumpadeum and a land measuring one pindaka. Excluding the indication of the given ground, the inscription is in anustubh verse. The dedication of Vishnu Trivikrama of Rajyavati forms a sragdhara stanza; the inscription of the pillar of Changu Narayan is a real poem in Cardula-Vikridita; the inscription of the pillar of Harigaon combines the most complicated metres. The culture of sanscrit is then very flourishing in Nepal under Manadeva; the king sets the example brilliantly and the private individuals endeavour to follow him. The panegyric of Changu Narayan is really of a classical style; the expression therein is never bombastic (high flown); the lexicon (dictionary) is simple and sound; the longest compounds do not exceed words or expression and rearly reach this number. If the literature is in honour in Nepal under Manadeva commence, flourishes thither also. Guhamitra who dedicates the Bhagvat Indra Divakara bears the title of banijam sarthavaha chief of a company of merchants and director of caravans. The exchanges between India and Tibet enriched the Kingdom and fed a regular traffic. The history of the Y'ang, in his notice on Nepal written out on Chinese documents of the IIth century, notes that the merchants both those on the move and those settled down are numerous thither. The Hindu influenee is profound enough to even exercise itself on the names of the merchants; the name of Sarthavaha Guhamitra is formed like the name of Sarthavaha Dhanamitra for instance in Cakultala (VI act) with the word 'mitra' (friend); the name of the god Guha, however much warlike it be at its origin is nevertheless more than once associated to names of traders such for instance Guhacandra and Gunasena in the Brhatkatha (Somadeva and Ksemendra). The worship of Vishnu Narayana is in favour in the royal household (Changu-Narayan, Vishnu Trivikrama pillar of Harigaon) but Pashupati is not neglected (linga of Jayavarman). The composite divinity erected and worshipped by Guhamitra is of an embarrassing suncretism. Divakara, the Sun, occupies undoubtedly an eminent rank in the official religion, his image appears on a great number of coins. Indra, on his side is one of the protectors of Nepal

The kingdom of the Licchavis in the days of Manadeva, spreads beyond the valley towards the East and West. In the

West, it stretches beyond the course of the Gandaki and incorporates the fortress of the Mallas. The organization of the kingdom is entirely feudal; the royal domain confined undoubtedly in the valley, is surrounded with refractory vassals who acknowledge having escaped the sovereign authority and who only recognize the same when it is composed by the arbitration of arms. On the faith of incomplete documents, one is able to imagine that in the epoch of Manadeva, the Nepalese kingdom was partitioned into two parallel dynasties, the Licchavis in the East, the Thakuris in the West. The last verses on the pillar of Changu Narayan given to science by the enlightened zeal of Maharaja Bir Shamsher, definitively ruin this opinion. Manadeva was really the sole master of the whole of Nepal. The dates known from his reign are understood, if my hypothesis on the era of the Licchavis is correct, between 497 and 524 L. C.; or if one prefers to interpret them by the Caka era, between 464 and 491 L. C. In both case Manadeva reigns at the close of the Vth century, at the time when the empire of the Guptas was crumbling down shattered by the victorious invasion of the White Huns.

Nepal had not to suffer the consequence of this crisis. The empire of the Guptas had not succeeded in absorbing her or breaking into her. The panegyric of Samudra Gupta classifies Nepal with her ordinary neighbour the Kamarupa, with the Samatta (Mouths of the Ganges) and the enigmatic countries of Davaka and Kartipura in the group of frontier kingdoms (partyanta) 'who paid the tribute in its entirely executed orders and came to prostrate themselves before the sovereign to satisfy his imperious authority'. This is group by itself distinct from the kings who were 'captured and set free' from the kings who were 'vigourously exterminated' and from the foreign or barbarous princes who exchanged embassies with the Emperor Gupta. The rank attributed to the 'frontier' kingdoms in the imperial classification marks a link of mean spirited vassalage an amiable submission consented to without resistance, which leaves the autonomy intact. In the days of Great Moguls, the same conditions established relations of the same nature between the Nepalese Darbar and the court of Delhi. The King of Kathmandu gave as a yearly tribute an elephant to the emperor; he offered him on the occasion varied presents, even went so far at times as to pay him a visit. The emperor in return authorized the stamp of a Nepalese silver coinage; but the action of Mogul never exercised itself on the territory of Nepal. The Gurkhas in their turn entertain today with the empire of China, analogous relations; their embassies proceed to carry the tribute every five years to the son of Heaven, each new sovereign respectfully solicits from his chinese suzerain a nominal investiture; the court of Peking sends in return of politeness, certificates and titles of honour; but a Chinese official would not be well looked on if he attempted to interfere in the affairs (politics) of the country. The Licchavis did not behave otherwise with the Guptas they

indulged in useless formalities but they yielded nothing. Other circumstances would have been necessary to introduce into Nepal the era of the Guptas; the adoption of a foreign era expresses to the Hindu the definitive submission and the loss of freedom.

Besides the term of 'frontier-kingdoms' (paratyanta) employed in the panegyric of Samudra Gupta is an expression consecrated, which definites with precision official relations. M. Fleet is wrong in saying that the word can be applied either to the kings in the interior of the frontiers of Nepal, etc., namely to the kings beyond the frontiers of these countries; and then according to the interpretation adopted it would be decided whether the empire of the Samudra Gupta comprised these countries or if it spread up to there, and had them for boundaries. Already the Emperor Ashoka employs the same expression in one of his decrees (Girnar, II, 2) and he clearly difinites the word within. He opposes to the imperial domain (vijita) the frontier countries (pracamtapratyanta) among which he mentions the coda Pandyas and Antiochusking of the Greeks who was assuredly not the vassal of Ashoka; M. Senart precisely observes that the category of the pracamtas 'represent foreign people completely independent of piyadasi' (11,254). At the classical epoch, the dictionary of Amara (11, 1,7) explains pratyanta by Mleccha-deca 'the barbarous countries' in contrast with Madhyadeca 'the Empire of the Centre', Hindusthan. The astronomer Varaha-Mihira in the VIth century enumerates as the pratyantas population (Brhat Samhita, XVI, 33) the Pahlavas or Sassanides, the Cveta-Hunas or White Huns, the Avagana or Afghans, the Maru or desert, the Cinas or Chinese; in two other passages (V, 3; IX, 17), the commentator criticises pratyanta by 'gahvara-vasinah' the Troloytes. Thus from a Brahmanic point of view, the pratyantas are the people who had remained outside the frontiers of civilization, like from a political point of view, the pratyantas are the people who had remained outside the frontiers of civilization and outside the imperial domain, beyond the frontiers. Nepal had not then been absorbed in Samudra Guptas empire; the fall of the Guptas allowed her to remain indifferent.

The successor of Manadeva is only known by name; the inscription of Pashupati names him Mahideva; Kirkpatrick names him Mahedeo and gives him a reign of 51 years; the other Vamsavalis call him by confusion Mahadeva instead of Mahideva and give him a reign of 51 years or 36 years. The two numbers are certainly wrong, Mahadeva still reigned in 413 and Vasantasena reigns in 435. The interval between these two dates is of 22 years, the reign of Mahideva could not have surpassed this number of years and is probably less than it. Mahideva was the son of Manadeva; he had for successor his son Vasantadeva or Vasantasena.

This prince wit an idyllic name did nevertheless know how to impose respect and fear. 'Loved by the world as much as the spring (Vasanta), he appeared

hostile disagreements; his trained vassals worshipped him' (Inscr. of Jayadeva at Pashupati). The Vamsavalis with the exception of Kirkpatrick pretend to register the date of his accession, but they are not agreed. Wright and Bhagvanlal indicate 2800 of the Kali-yuga; the Brahmanic Vamsavali, 2785. The two numbers are equally impossible, they place Vasantadeva.

In 301 or in 316 before the Christian era. On the other hand to calculate on informations actually given by the Vamsavalis the duration assigned to intermediary reigns from Bhumivarman who ascended the throne in 1389 of the Kali-yuga recalls the accession of Vasantadeva in 2883 (Bhagvanlal) or in 2830 (V.) of the Kali-yuga. The indication supplied by the Vamsavalis is then independent of their chronological contents; if it only expresses an approximation, it is difficult to conceive why Vasantadeva in preference to all the other Licchavis kings had obtained the privilege of being taken as a joining mark. In fact, the anointing of Vasantadeva could not be made to coincide with a change of century of the Kali-yuga; The XXXVIIth century opens in 499 J. C. The XXVIIIth in 599 and the reign of Vasantadeva falls in the course of that period. An inscription of this prince is dated of Samvat 435 which answers, in Licchavi era, to 546/7 of J.C. I would be tempted to believe that the so-called date of the Kali-yuga is the whimsical transposition of a real data. Vasantasena is known to have ascended the throne in 428 Samvat and last two figures separated from the cumbersome hundred would have been swelled by two zeros: 4/28; 2800.

Vasantadeva is the author of the first chart of donation which is known to have been discovered in Nepal; the anterior inscriptions engraved during the reign of Manadeva are some of them, dedicating the other panegyric. But the first specimen already marks the definitive characters of the kind such as they last afterwards through-out the centuries. The chart is engraved on a stone slab, carefully set up and rounded off on the top and adorned by way of vignettes with sacred or favourable figures; here for example, a disc (cakra) between two conches (sea-shells) (Cankhas). The text begins with formula of benediction; then the king states his titles and qualities, and addressing himself directly to those interested whom he specifies, he positively wishes them and conveys his will to them; he stipulates the nature, condition, the beneficiaries of the donations, invites his successors to respect, threatens with severe penalties the offenders. Beginning from Shivadeva II, the famous verses of Veda-Vyasa on the donation are regularly recalled and mentioned. The chart ends up by the date and designation of the official entrusted to watch its execution (dutaka). This formulation is borrowed from the chancery of India; it has most probably created by the scribes of the last Gupta experors; the kings of Valabhi have then also adopted and reproduced in numerous exemplaries since the beginning of VIth century for the first time and already almost complete in a chart of Maharaja Praivrajaka Hastin dated from Gupta 156 (475/6 J. C.) in the Bundelkhand,

it is found again later in a chart of the same prince dated 163 Gupta (482/3 J.C.), in the chart of a neighbouring prince, the Maharaja Jayanatha of Uccakalpa dated from 177 Gupta (496/7 J.C.), in a chart of the Maharaja Laksmana from 158 Gupta (477/8 J.C.). But all these documents with the difference of the Nepalese charts are engraved on copper-plates. However, the pillar without date of Bihar allows one to perceive through its endless fragments the remains of a decree of the Emperor Skanda Gupta (between 136 and 146 Gupta; 456-466 J. C.) who also employed the same formulation[34]. The date of Vasantadeva corresponds to the diffusion of this diplomatic personage who takes birth towards the middle of the Vth century on the lower course of the Ganges.

The king does not carry the name of Vasantadeva in his inscription which the inscription of Pashupati gives him and which the Vamsavalis have perpetuated; he is named Vasantasena. He bears the title of Bhattaraka Maharaja which seems to be the official title of the Licchavis kings; Vasantasena applies it to his own father and Shivadeva Ist takes it also in his inscriptions.

The affected title of parama bhattaraka maharajadhiraja which the Gupta emperors bear is only observed in Nepal beginning from Shivadeva II. Vasantadeva resides at Managriha whence his chart is given. To beleive him, his science, his practical sagacity, his compassion, his generosity, his urbanity, his piety, his majesty has given birth to the purity of his glory. Every detail of the donation is lost. The official in charge of the execution (dutaka) is Ravigupta. Commander-in-chief and great usher, who exercises his functions at Brahman Mahicila. Date the first day of the month of Aswaja (or Ashwina) clear fortnight, Samvat 435.

The same Ravigupta titulary of the same functions is delegated to the execution of another decree which I found at Kisipidi, near Thankot in the immediate neighbourhood of Matatirtha, towards the West of the valley; this decree is dated from 449, 10th day of the clear fortnight of the first month of Asadha. The name of the king has unfortunately disappeared with all the formulations of the introduction; but it concerns undoubtedly Vasantadeva or his successor. Who is the successor of Vasantadeva ? The Vamsavalis call him Udayadeva; the inscription of Pashupati also names next to Vasantadeva, a king Udayadeva, but in connecting them one to the other by an enigmatic link. In fact, an almost illegible inscription which I discovered at Kisipidi, near the decree of 449 and which present exteriorly indentical characters permits to partly decipher at the end name of the official delegated; it is the Yuvarajoda. The restitution which offers itself is 'yuvarajodayadevah' (the heir apparent Udayadeva). Udayadeva would have probably been the son of Vasantadeva and his designated successor. But the successor designated was also the actual and real successor, the effective heir of the power. The discord of the traditions the casual

mysteriousness of the inscription of Pashupati reveal a political and dynastic crisis. Epigraphy gives uncertain and fleeting glipmpses, an inscription of Kisipidi, dated from the Vth century of the Licchavis clearly shows the name of King Ganadeva who resides at Managriha; but the terms and units of the date are undecipherable. I think it is justifiable and almost legitimate to recognize in this King Ganadeva, the King Gunakamadeva of the Vamsavalis, grand-son of Udayadeva and great grand-son of Vasantadeva. The similarity of the names may have led the chroniclers to an easy cofusion; the unknown Ganadeva recalled too closely a glorious name to defend his humble memory against familiar syllables which he was wrong in evoking. It must be further observed that the names or the surnames formed with the word Kama only appear among the Thakuris in the VIIIth century; Ganadeva or the contrary regularly enters in the series of the Licchavis where so many names are merely the epithets of Shiva. Ganadeva is the god of the Ganas, servants of Shiva; he can like Ganapati for instance, apply himself either to Shiva or to Ganesa, the son of Shiva and prince of the Ganas. The delegate of Ganadeva is Prasadagupta. Between Udayadeva and Ganadeva (Gunakamadeva), the Vamsavalis place Manadeva II. Under this reign, Nepal suffered for three years from a terrible drought; Manadeva brought an end to it by offering all his treasures to Pashupati. The Vamsavali of Kirkapatrick alone repisters to Pashupati. The Vamsavali of Kirkapatrick alone registers this tradition. After Ganadeva (Gunakamadeva) the Vamsavalis are agreed in placing successively Shivadeva, Narendradeva and Bhimdeva to whom they grant a total of 91 years(K.) or 129 years (B. V.) of reign. Departing from this point, they widelys eparate. Before discussing their testimony, it seems to me useful to present in parallel columns a tableau of their divergencies.

28. Bhimadevavarman

Bhim Deo Burmah	
W. V. B.	K.
29. Vismadevavarman	47 years

(During the reign of 28 years, the Ahirs who were originally the sovereigns of Nepal regained their domain: 'Ahir or Abhira dynasty restored)

30. Visvadevavarman	51 years (W. B.)
Vica Gupta deva	V.

(The 30 marries his daughter to Amsuvarman, founder of the Thakuri dynasty).

(29) Bishen Gupt	74 years (Vishnu Gupta)
(30) Kishnoo Gupt	61 years (Kishu Gupta)
(31) Bhoomy Gupt	40 years (Bhumi Gupta)

(Seo Deo Burmah (Shivadevavarman) of the posterity of Nevesit (Nimisa) expells the Gupts (Guptas) and again subduce Nepal.

Restoration of the Suryavamcis.

(32) Seo Deo Burmah	41 years. (Shivadevavarman)

(He is followed by Unghoo Burmah (Amsuvarman) 42 years).

(Contd.)

FOOT NOTES

1. (Not French)
Somadeva, as is seen further places of Nepal in connection with Shiva.

2. (Not French)

3. 'Varaha-Mihira' 'Brhat-Samhita', IV, 22. The corresponding passage of Paracara is mentioned by Kern in a note of his translation, Journ. Roy. As. Soc., n. s. IV, p. 454,-Varaha Mihira also names Nepal, V, 65.

4. 'Tripitaka Chinese', Japanese edition, XVII, vol. 6, p. 32a (Nanjio 1127)

5. 'Memoirs', II, 47. On the date of Sthiramati, key my 'Religious donation of the kings of Valabhi' in the VIIth volume of the Library of the School of high studies of religious sciences. Paris, 1896, p. 87.

6. Japanese ed., III, 4, 61a (Nanjio, 63). Nepal is inserted in this list between the "Head-of-dogs" (Svamukhas) and the 'Kin-na-so' (Gonasas ?)

7. An unknown poetry of King Harsa Ciladitya by Silvain Levi, in the acts of the Xth 'congress des orients'. Geneva, 1896, V. 3.

8. Japanese edition., XXVII, 9, p. 48 a (Nanjio, 1056).

9. Ib, 63a.

10. Jap. edition. XXVII, 3, p. 82b (Nanjio, 1018)

11. Taranatha, p. 125.

12. Key, 'Takausu, A study... and the date of Vasubandhu', in the Journ.Roy. As. Soc., 1905, 1.

13. Nepala..., 1. IX; key sup., vol I 225. Hemacandra in an interesting passage of his commentary on the Kavyanucasana (Kavya-Mala, 1900, p.128), mentions Nepal in the countries situated to the East of Benares (Not French)

and again among the mountains of of that region (Not French).

14. (Not French)

The Buddhistic Vamcavali gives him also the name of Ne-muni (Wright, 107)

15. (Not French)

16. Hamilton, 187.– Hodgson, loc. cit,–– Oldfield, II, 189.–A chapter of the Horsacarita of Band compares exactly in a pun, 'nemi' and the 'Niyama'.

The Buddhists priest Divakara Mitra is called in it; "Jama Yamasya, nemin-niyamasya, battvam tapasah" (Bombay ed., 266).

4. Taranath, p. 26 and 27,– Schiefuer translates "the Tibetian tharu-i brgyud" by "die Reihe dor Erdg ranze", But according to the very testimony of Wassilief (mentioned ib, Introd., p. 9) "Sumba Khutukta understands 'Tharu' as the name of a tribe (of which is issued Asoka). The exactitude of this information does honour to the Tibetian tradition. It is certain in fact that one must translate 'tharu-i-brgyud' the country of the Tharus".

The Tibetian form of the name of Nepal "Bal-po" seems to confirm the traditional analysis which isolates the initial syllable 'ne'. The element 'po' is the substantive particle which attaches itself to concrete terms; the significant part is reduced to "Bal (pala, or rather a weaker form bala", intermediary between the Sanscrit Ne)pala and the modern designation of Ne)vara. Nevars. The word 'bal' further signifies in Tibetian, "wool". Nepal is often designated also by "Rin-po-cho-i-ghin" which correspondends to the Sanscrit Ratna-dvipa "country of precious stones" and by an extension "country of the fortunate beings" it is also called Klu (i) Yul. "The country of the Nagas" as being their favourites resort. The Chinese at the time of the T'ang say Ni-po-lo; at the time of the Ming, Ni-pa-la; the modern forms Pa-lo-pon, Pa-eui-pn, Pai-pou are transcriptions of the Tibetian name Bal-po. Key sup., vol. I, p. 186; and 1,223, n.1, for another etymology of Nepal proposed by M. Waddell.

17. Wright, 79; "From the hill of Padma (Swayambhu) to Guhyeswari'. The 'Svay' p. (ed. Bi. li. Ind., p. 246) shows other limits but equivalent.

18. W. designates the Vamsavali of Wright; B. That of Bhagvanlal (some considerations on the History of Nepal); K. the lists of Kirkpatrick; V. my exeplary of the Brahmanic Vamsavali.

19. Bhagvanlal supposes that this name is a corruption of the formula: "bhukta-mana-gata-varsa--in the year of the reigh of..."

20. In fact the Kiratas attribute to their hero Srijanga, the invention of a special writing. Sarat Chandra Das mentioned in Vansittart, p.135. The parallel lists in the Chinese versions are worthy of mention, the most ancient (P'ou-yao king, translated in 308) replaces the name of the Kiratas

by 'yi-ti-sas', expression which means from a Chinese point of view the 'barbarians bordering on the North", it is an exact equivalent by (translated in 587) transcribes ki-lo-to and adds as a gloss "the naked men". The third (Fang-koang ta tchoang yen king, translated in 683) simply gives the transcription 'ki-lo-to". See the final note of my article; the country of Kharosta and the Kharostri writing in the Bulletin Ec. Fr. Extraror., 1904.

21. Description, p. 350

22. Ib., 362

23. It is to be observed that the name of Bhaskara-Varman is carried by the prince (Kumara) who reigned over the Kamarupa, bordering on Nepal in the days of Harsa and of Hiouen-tsang (VIIth century)

24. A copy of this inscription which I procured myself in Nepal clearly shows 'aparam' in verse 6 (cvaccham... vamcah) instead of 'aparo' which Bhagvanlal adopted; whiteness is the colour of glory; whence the comparions with the Moon and Ganga, which are acknowledged for being white also.

25. Ib., p. 339.

26. Taranatha mentions a prince of the Licchavi clan, 'The Lion' (senge) who possessed a great empire in Eastern India in the days when Candragomin was born, then in the beginning of the VIIth century (p. 146). The grand son of this prince, Pancema Simha, son of Bharsa, commanded in the North as far as Tibet (p. 158). Key, perhaps the Adi-Simha of the Magadha mentioned in the inscription of the Dudhpani, Ep. Ind., 11,344.

27. Buhler (The laws of Manu, 1,1) reestablishes rightly as Lassen had already done before him (Ind. Alt, Ir, 170 note), the 'Licchivi' perusal and in a subsidiary manner Licchavi instead of 'Licchivi' given by the vulgate (Latin Bible) Besides the annotators share out among them the perusals of the Licchavi, Licchikhi, Nicchivi, N. Jolly has admitted in the text of his edition the Licchivi perusal.

28. The legend is thus mentioned in the dictionary of S. V. Litche, Li-tohe-pi, according to the Chou-tsoung-ki (or more exactly the Sou-fau-lin-chou-chou-tsoung-i-ki) glossary on the commentary (chou) of the Dharmagupta-vinaya (Sou-fau-lin) in ten or twenty chapters by T'ing pin. The Sin-tsi-tsang-king in-i-soei hau lou of (K'o-houng preserved in the Korean collection and printed in the Japanese edition of the Tripitaka (XXXIX). 1-5) gives the name legend in a condensed form an analogous legend drawn from the South is found again in S pence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, p. 242.n. The story related by Fa-Hien in connection with the 'Tower of the bows and arms deposited' at Vaicali, is evidently only a variation of the same tradition; one of the wives of the king conceives on the banks of the Ganges, a ball of flesh, which her rival the

first queen has had thrown into the water enclosed in a casket. A king recovers the casket, opens it and finds within a thousand children, he brings them up. Once they grow big; they invaded the kingdom of their father. But their mother, to make herself recognizable to them and to stop their invasion, climbs to the top of a pavilion, squeezes her breasts and there by causes the outflow of a thousand spirits of milk which fall into the mouths of her thousand children (trans. Remusat, ch XXV). According to the Tibetische Lebens beschreibung Cakyamunis of Schiefner mentioned in Kern (Buddhismus, trans, Jacobi, p. 312) the ancestor of the Licchavis as well as those of the Mallas wos a grand-son of Virudhada named Vasistha.

29. (See) V. Sylvain Levi, Two disregarded nations in the Memoirs in honour of Ch, de Harlez, 176 sqq.

30. Even in Nepal a gomin ancestor of king Jusnugupta, bears the name of Managupta.

31. Sri Manecvaruvarakavdhaorataoa... (Jo-yasthiti Malla, Nev. S. 506), ms. cambridge Add,= 698,--varalabdhapre-sadita... (Jyotimalla, Nev. S... 533) Insc. No. 16 of Bhagvanlal-crimanmanec-varista devata-vara-labdha-prasada (chart of Jayaprakash Malla Nev. 862 in favour of the Capuchins; see, sup. i.e. 110, note--cri Gandakivaralabdhaprasada... Nev. S., 512; ms. Cambridge, Add., 1108.

32. Perhaps in connection with the clan of the Mankharis, according to the analogy of the names Bhogavarman, Bhogadevi.

33. Vansittart--p. 81; Hodgson mentions it Essay, s, part. II. p. 43 under the form Maun (Mana; key, Nepal--Nepala).

34. See, for the charts of Valabhi my memoir on the 'Religious donations of the king of Valabhi'; for the charts of Hastin and Jayanatha, the corpus insc. Ind. Vol III; for the chart of Laksmana the 'Epigraphia Indica 11,364; for the pillar of Bihar, the 'corpus', III. No. 12.

An Early Sculpture of Gaja-Laksmi From Patan

Lain Shing Bangdel

Until recently, it was thought that Nepal played second fiddle to India in the field of artistic creation and constituted a backwater region where some remnants of India's high artistic tide were left marooned. Some scholars maintained that the art of Nepal was of only secondary importance to the Gupta art of India. A comprehensive survey and a fresh look, however, clearly show that the art of Nepal has its own character with a history traceable from at least the 1st century A. D., apparently long before the Licchavi dynasty was founded in Nepal.

It is somewhat surprising that the Valley of Kathmandu with its physical isolation should harbour such a variety of icons whose antiquity goes back to the early centuries of the Christian era. Recent discoveries of a number of early images hitherto unknown to previous writers have shown indisputable evidence of early sculptures and subsequent icons display a consistant record of steady growth and high artistic achievements to its credit down to the 11th century A.D.

A thorough study of early icons has established that the folk cults of the Yakshas (local tutelary divinities), Nagas (serpents) and fertility goddesses (in the form of Matrikas or Divine Mothers) were as popular in Nepal as in India around the early centuries of the Christian era. A comparative study of the art of the two countries shows that the early people were largely devoted to the cult-worship of these divinities that developed under a socio-religious milieu dominated by the tribal culture.

A cursory look at the early icons of India reveals that a sophisticated and elitist art grew up under the impact of Buddhism which gained popularity by

integrating the older folk divinities as acolytes or attendants of the Buddha or of his symbolical presence. Thus a synthesis was created between the divinities of higher religions and the folk deities, or between a shophisticated culture and a tribal culture. This process started with the rise of the Mauryan dynasty about the 3rd century B. C. and continued in full vogue until about the beginning of the Christian era, with the art of Maurya, Sunga, Satavahana and Kushana periods. The earliest Yaksha image found in the Valley of Kathmandu (Pl. 1) probably represents a similar synthesis between a higher and a lower religion.

As we know it now that the earliest sculpture of Nepal in anthropomorphic form, is the remarkable torso of Yaksha, discovered a few years ago at Hadigaon and now preserved in the National Museum, Kathmandu[1] (Pl. 1). Thus the sculptural art of both India and Nepal begins with Yaksha images. Authorities like A. K. Coomaraswamy and V. S. Agrawala have remarked that both Yaksha and Naga are aboriginal non-Aryan type. In remote past Yaksha was regarded as tutelary goblin of a bucolic spirit who inhabited fields, trees and forests.

Mathura where images of almost all cults formulated and concretised, was indeed the most important center of early Indian art. Here, we not only find early representation of Yaksha, Yakshi, Naga Tree-spirit and other folk divinities including Mother-Goddesses of anthropomorphic or mixed zoomorphic and anthropomorphic forms but also representation of early Buddhist and Brahmanical divinities such as Buddha, Bodhisattva, Vishnu, Laksmi, Gaja-Laksmi, Siva, Skanda, Mahisamardini, Indra, Balarama, Varaha, Kubera, Hariti, Ardhanarisvara and Saptamatrikas.

A few scholars have hinted that Mathura was the primary source of inspiration for the early art of Nepal, and this is indeed becoming clearer as more specimens of early Nepalese sculputure come to light.

The image of Gaja-Laksmi from Chyasaltol, Patan (Pl. 5) may be cited here as an example. Before dealing with the sculpture in question we shall first briefly discuss the evolution of the cult of Gaja-Laksmi.

The early Indo-Aryan Mother Goddesses are to be found in ring-stones which were worshipped as Sri-Chakra dating back to ca. 4th century B. C. Such ring-stones in which the Mother Goddesses were carved in various forms and shown in full figures standing stiffly with large circular earrings, firm breasts, heavy and large hips, and with two straight arms dangling, have been discovered in Taxila, Kausambi, Mathura, Rajghat, Rupar and Basarh. Mother godde-

1. Ramesh Jung Thapa, "Nepali Murtikala (Nepalese Sculpture)", **Ramjham**, vol. 6, No. 3, p. 12 (Kathmandu, Oct. 1970).

sses were later associated with and identified as Sri-Devi, Sri-Ma, Sri-Laksmi, the supreme universal deity and spouse of Vishnu. Thus, Goddess Sri or Sri-Laksmi was regarded as the goddess of wealth. A lotus became her symbol and main attribute. She was represented either sitting or standing on a lotus and as a very popular deity she became the Goddess **par excellence** and was regarded as born from water — a symbol of fertility and abundance. She was the giver of wealth and food, and thus she also became the Goddess of prosperity to her devotees.

One of the earliest representations of Sri-Laksmi under the name of **Sirima-Devata** is found in the art of Bharhut belonging to the 2nd century B.C. A terracotta figurine of Sri-Laksmi datable to the 1st century B.C. was recently discovered from the excavation of Tilaurakot, Nepal,[1] (Pl. 2). Here, goddess Sri-Laksmi is shown standing in **tribhanga** pose and cross-legged on a large full-blown lotus in a tank encirled by a railing. A similar terracotta figurine of Sri-Laksmi was discovered from the ruins of Kausambi, India[2]. The discovery of a number of images of this goddess in stone and terracotta reflects the popularity of the cult of Sri-Laksmi. From about the 2nd century B. C. goddess Sri-Laksmi was represented as Gaja-Laksmi and this form of the goddess frequently occurs in seals, coins and stone reliefs of Sunga and early Kushana periods (Pl. 3). The most interesting representation of Gaja-Laksmi is with two elephants, one on each side, pouring water over her head from an inverted jar held in each trunk (Line-drawing Figs. 1, 2, 3).

Possibly one of the earliest representations of Gaja-Laksmi in Indian art is to be found in the fragment of a **torana** architrave from Kausambi, now preserved in the Allahabad Museum (Pl. 4), datable to the 2nd century B.C. This goddess is shown standing on a large lotus with her right hand raised in **abhayamudra** and her clenched left hand placed on her hip. From the lotus on which the goddess stands, three long lotus stalks issue on each side and on each of the middle and tallest stalk stands an elephant bathing the goddess with water from long-necked jar held in its trunk. The lower garment of the goddess is diaphanous and is secured by a girdle of a single beaded string. She is wearing heavy earrings, a necklace consisting of a single strand of large beads falling between the breasts, coiled bracelets and large anklets.

The tallest pair of lotus stalks in the above sculpture bear seed-pods at the top. Such lotus seed-pods whereon stand two elephants, have flat tops and are rarely depicted in the early art of India.

1. B K. Rijal, "Excavation and other archaeological activities in Tilaurakot, **Ancient Nepal**, No. 26, January, 1974.

2. S. C. Kala, **Terracotta Figurines from Kausambi**, Pl. XX 1.

Interestingly enough, an image of Gaja-Laksmi, almost identical not only in form but also in iconography to that of Kausambi Gaja-Laksmi mentioned above, is known from Chyasaltol, Patan (Pl. 5). The discovery of this image constitutes the earliest sculpture of Gaja-Laksmi found in the Valley of Kathmandu which means this is the first record of this divinity in Nepal. Although this Gaja-Laksmi is one of the most important images of Nepal, it has never been properly identified [2] or discussed in print. It is entirely possible that this sculpture is the sole example of Gaja-Laksmi in this form in the Valley of Kathmandu for, no images of Gaja-Laksmi have been found in the Licchavi or the post Licchavi periods, let alone in the art of Malla period.

Like the Gaja-Laksmi of Kausambi, the Gaja-Laksmi of Chyasaltol stands in **samabhanga** pose with her feet apart similar to the early Kushana images (Line-drawing Fig. 6). She is wearing a necklace consisting of a single strand of beads, and a diaphanous garment. Massive anklets, like those of the female deities of the Kushana period and also of the early female divinities of Nepal, are conspicuously visible on her feet. Her earrings too, are identical to that of Laksmi from Mathura Museum belonging to the Kushana period (Pl. 6). The central folds of her garment are gathered into a decorative fold as seen in a number of early icons of the Valley. A three-fold sash falls diagonally from left to right making a 'U' shaped turn on the left, a common feature to be seen in the early art of Mathura (Line-drawing Figs. 6, 9).

Two mutilated figures, apparently devotees, are kneeling with folded hands on either side of her feet. The face of Gaja-Laksmi is partly broken and abraded. A full-blown lotus which the goddess is holding in her left hand is identical to that of Laksmi referred to above (Pl. 6). Her right hand, raised as if in **abhaya-mudra**, holds a lotus-bud. Her broad and heavy hips are indeed, reminiscent of the Mother Goddess from Mohenjodaro or the Indo-Aryan Mother Goddess found in the ring-stones.

Other striking similarities between the Chyasaltol Gaja-Laksmi (Pl. 5) and the Gaja-Laksmi from Mathura Museum (Line-drawing Fig. 7) are the modelling of the face, the earrings, the coiffeur, the diagonal sash and the above all the pattern of the lotuses which the goddesses hold in their left hands. Both the Goddesses are standing in their hierartic posture. Due to these likenesses, one who is not aware of the early Nepalese sculpture in the first centuries of the Christian era might

1. When this image was first discovered about a decade ago, it was partly submerged in the water at the Chyasaltol waterspout. For over a year, the drainge was blocked and the entire fountain court was filled with rain water. Very recently, the local people, out of their own donation, took charge of renovating the waterspout thereby reinstalling the image of Gaja-Laksmi in the present position.

2. Mary Slusser, Nepali Sculpture--New Discovery, **Aspect of Indian Art**, Leiden 1972, p. 102.

mistakenly assume that both images mentioned above came from the same atelier.

The distinctive hair-style of Gaja-Laksmi from Patan deserves close examination. The tresses of the hair fall from central bun and reach down to the ear. The lateral tresses are short, round and curved, shaped like sausages and constitutes the first appearence of such aunique hair-style in the early sculptures of Nepal (Line-drawing Figs. 14, 15, 16). In the early icons of India, we do not see a similar type of hair-style, but a motif akin to this pattern is shown in the female divinities in Mathura-Kushana art. However, in most cases, this motif is shown as a conopy above the head which has been wrongly identified by scholars as a Naga-hood. In Nepal, this unique hair-style is entirely an innovation of Nepalese artists. A careful study of the early art of the Valley has revealed that a number of early female divinities, including Hariti-Sitala from Balaju[1] and Mother Goddess from Kotaltol, Hadigaon, have similar hair-style. These are the early female divinities which may be assigned to the late 2nd or early 3rd century A. D., on the basis of a comparative study with the Mathura-Kushana art of India.

Another significant feature of the early images of the Valley is the heavy anklets worn by female divinities. The Gaja-Laksmi from Patan and the Hariti-Sitala from Balaju as well as the Mother Goddess from Haugal, Patan have heavy and conspicuous anklets. It must be further added that in the art of Mathura and western India of the Kushana period almost all female divinities are shown wearing heavy anklets, indeed a ubiquitous feature of the early art of Mathura. In Nepal, too, early female divinities wear heavy anklets like those of Mathura (Line-drawing Figs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13). Scholars with conservatives views may not agree[2], it would nevertheless seem that heavy anklets worn by female divinities is undoubtedly one of the early features of Nepalese art for, such heavy and doughnut like anklets are never seen in any female deity of Licchavi or post-Licchavs period. Hence, this motif must be regarded as a pre-Licchavi feature.

It is manifestly clear from the above discussion that there are pre-Licchavi motifs to be seen in the early art of Nepal, viz. the lotus seed-pods (Line-drawing Figs. 4, 5), massive anklets, diagonal sash and of course the representation of Gaja-Laksmi itself. This shows that the Valley of Kathmandu was directly or indirectly in touch with the Gangetic Valley of India from remote past. Now it must be emphasized that the stylistic affinity between the early deities of Nepal and those of the Kushana period allows us to assign a fairly accurate date of the early art of Nepal.

As cited already, the Gaja-Laksmi from Patan has undoubtedly close affinity with the early sculptures of Mathura of

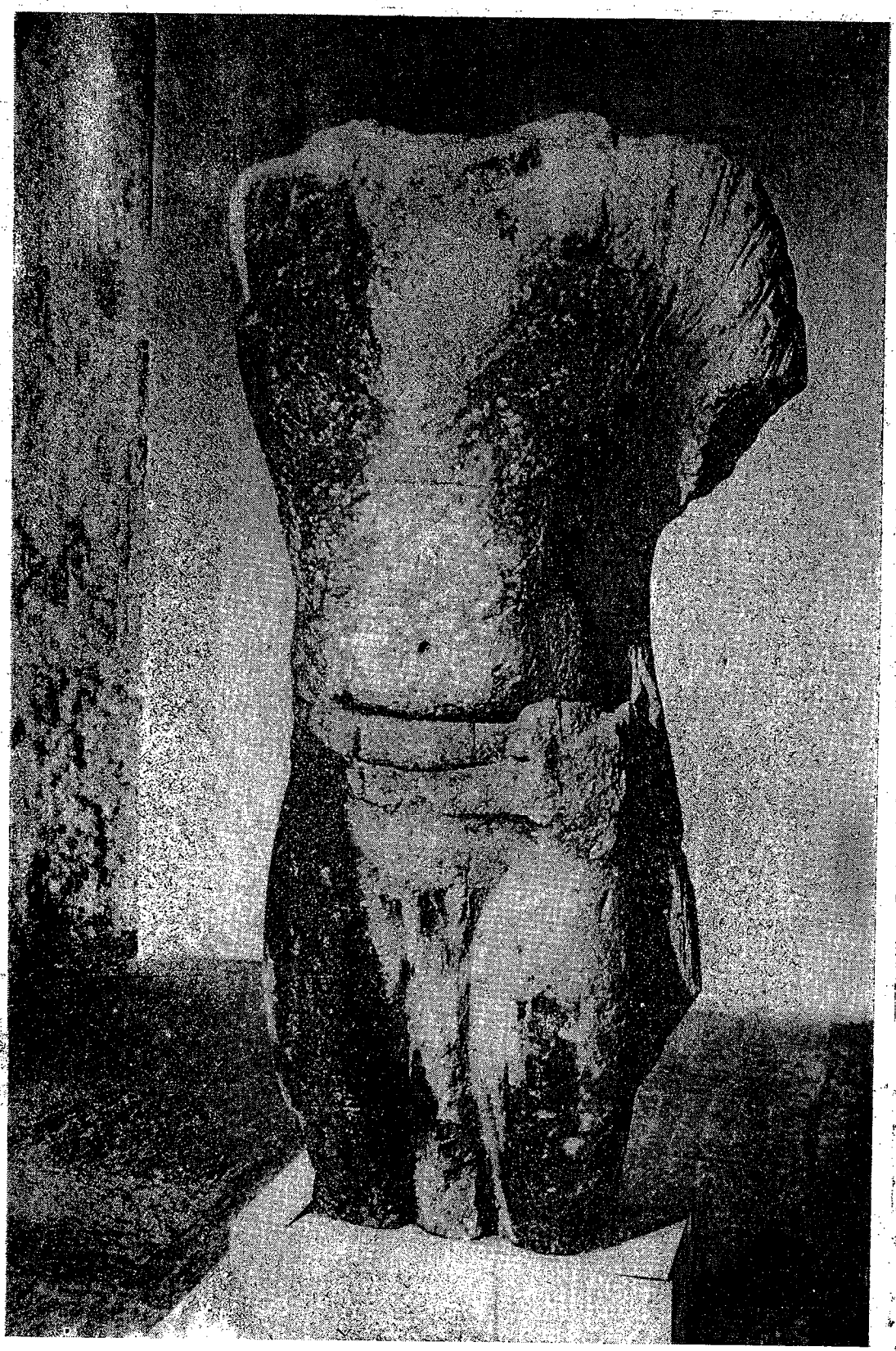
1. P. Pal. **The Arts of Nepal**, Part I, Sculpture, Leiden/Koln, 1974, Fig. 58.

2. Mary Slusser, op. cit. p. 99.

the Kushana period, both in stylistic treatment as well as iconography. Thus a close comparision with its counterparts in India provides ample evidence on which the Gaja-Laksmi from Chyasaltol, Patan can reasonably be placed in the 2nd century A.D. Moreover, additional unpublished evidence recently discovered throws new light on the early art of Nepal which may not only add a new dimension to the study of the pre-Licchavi art but also help us to establish a chronological framework for the sculptural heritage of Nepal beginning from the Yaksha image of Hadigaon of the 1st century A.D. to the earliest inscribed Vishnu-Vikranta images of Lazimpat and Tilganga of A.D. 467.

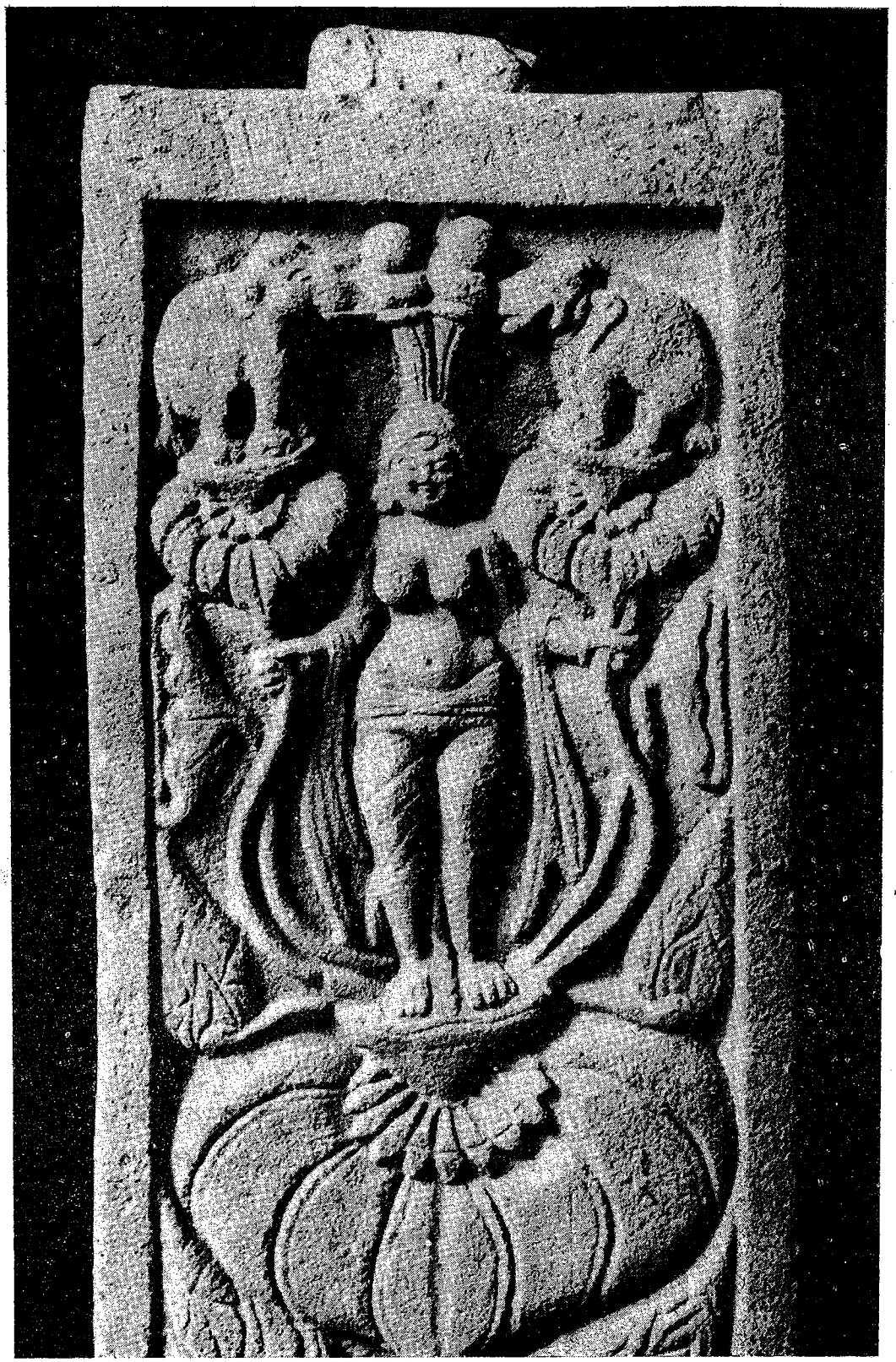
Pls. 3, 4: Courtesy: Allahabad Museum (India).

Pl. 6. Courtesy: Mathura Museum (India).



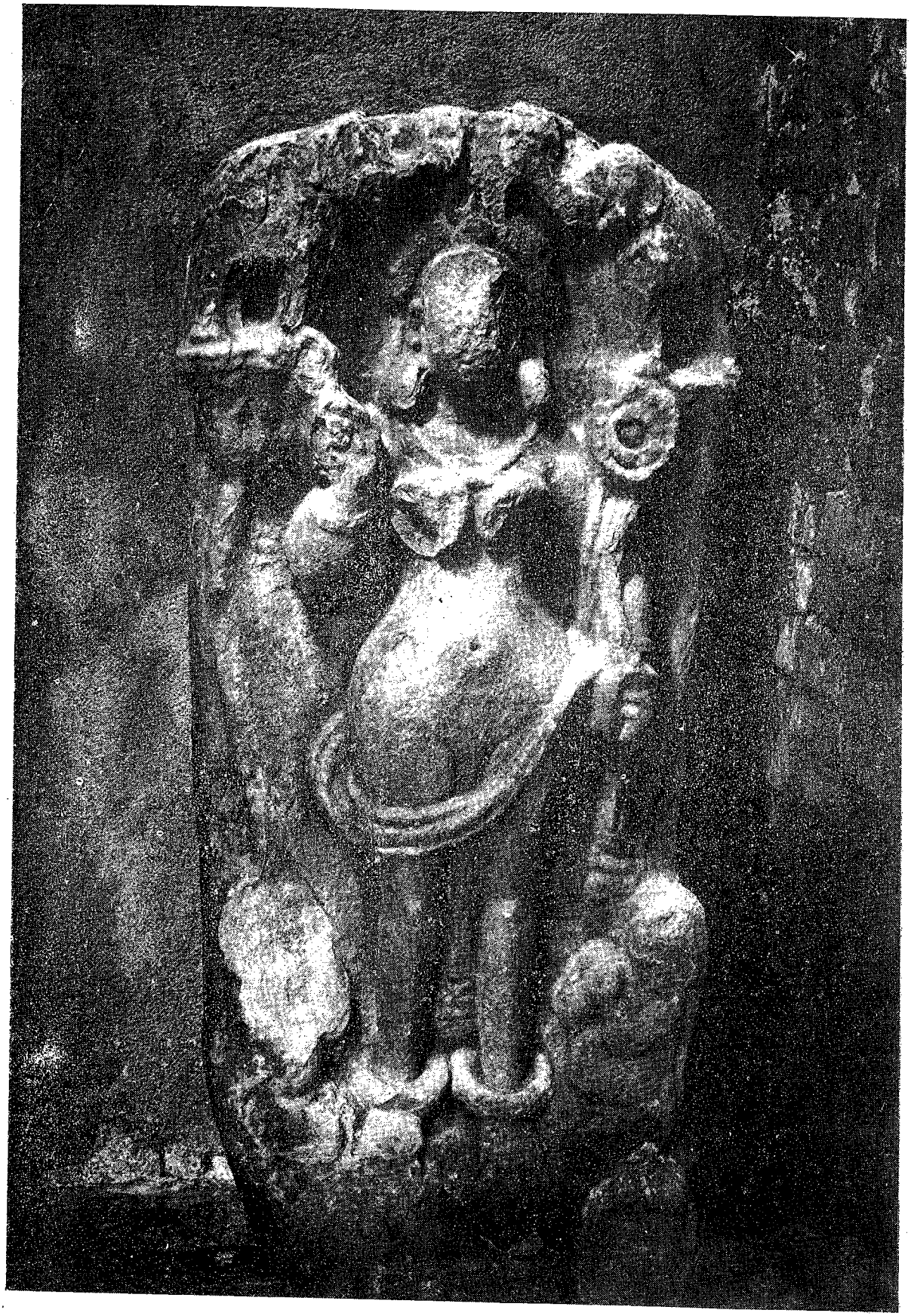
Pl. 1. Yaksha, National Museum, Kathmandu, 1st century A. D.

Pl. 2. Sri-Laksmi, Tilaurakot (Nepal), 1st century B.C.



Pl. 3. Gaja-Laksmi, Allahabad Museum (India), 2nd Century B. C.

Pl. 4. Gaja-Laksmi, Allahabad Museum (India), 2nd century B. C.



Pl. 5. Gaja-Laksmi, Chyasaltol, Patan, 2nd century A. D.

Pl. 6. Laksmi, Mathura Museum, (India) Kushana Period.

LINE-DRAWING FIGURES

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 1. Gaja-Laksmi from Bharhut (India), 2nd century B. C.

Fig. 2. Gaja-Laksmi, Detail of a pillar, Sanchi (India), 2nd century B. C.

Fig. 3. Gaja-Laksmi, Bodhgaya Stupa (India), 2nd century B. C.

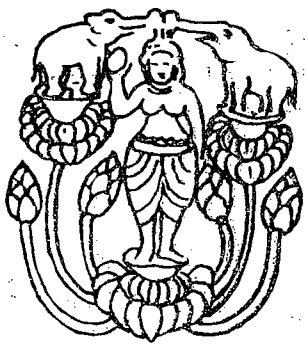


Fig. 3

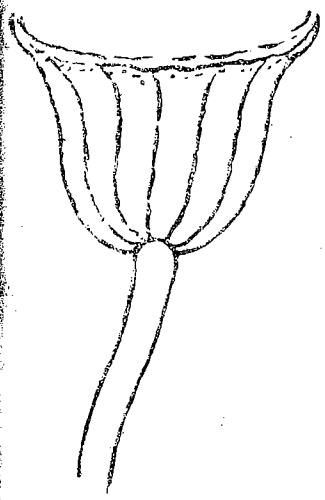


Fig. 4

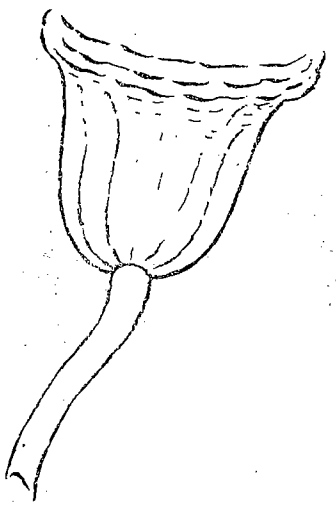


Fig.5

Fig. 4. Seed-pod (detail), Gaja-Laksmi, Allahabad Museum (India), 2nd century B. C.

Fig. 5. Seed-pod (detail), Gaja-Laksmi from Chyasaltol, Patan, 2nd century A. D.

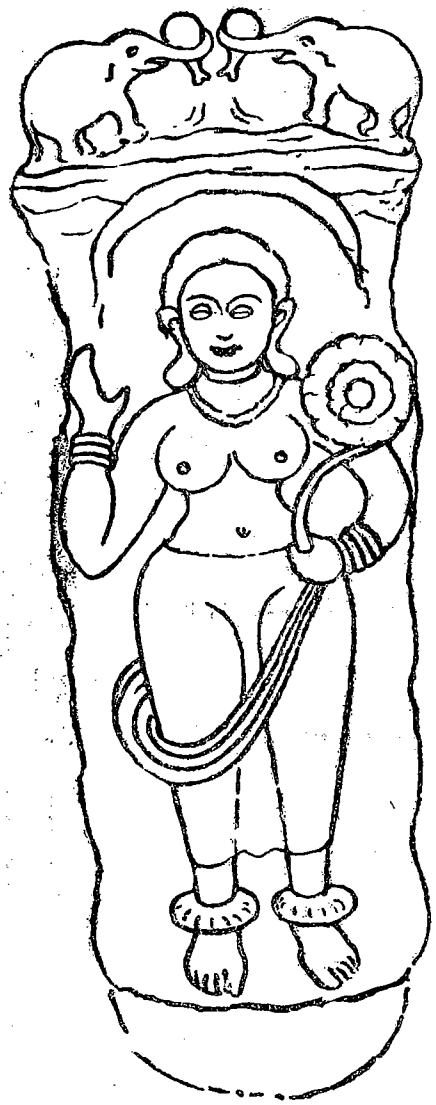


Fig. 6

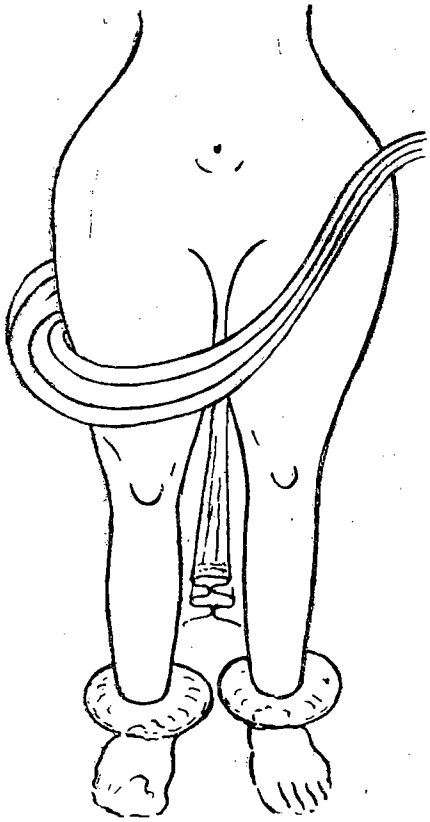


Fig. 7

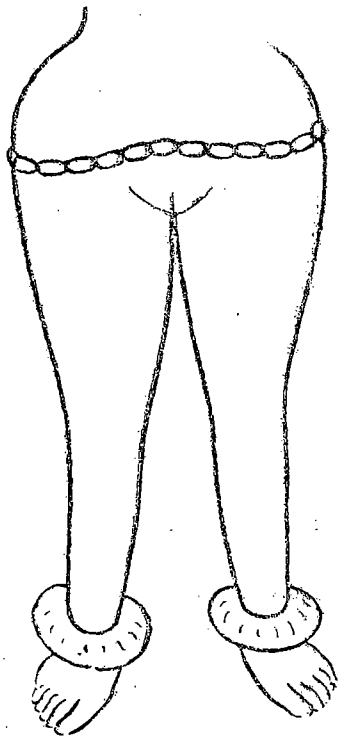


Fig. 8

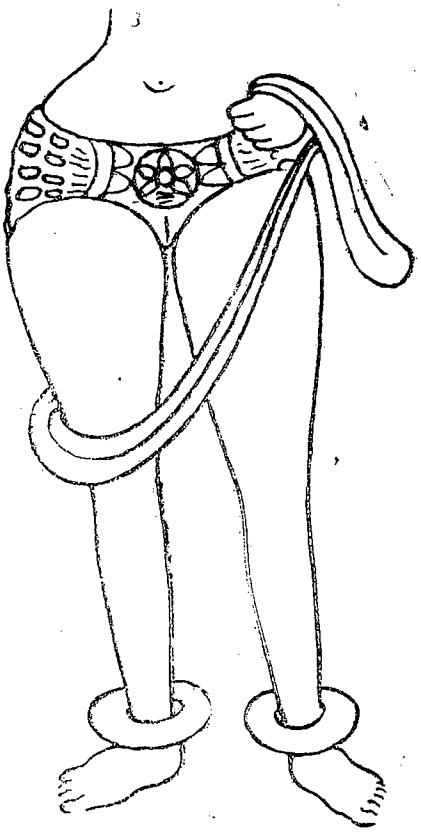


Fig. 9

Fig. 6. Anklets worn by Gaja-Laksmi, Mathura Museum (India), 2nd century A. D.

Fig. 7. Anklets worn by Gaja-Laksmi from Chyasaltol, Patan, 2nd century A.D.

Fig. 8. Anklets worn by Gaja-Laksmi, Allahabad Museum (India), 2nd century B.C.

Fig. 9. Anklets worn by Female Figure, Mathura Museum (India), Kushana Period.

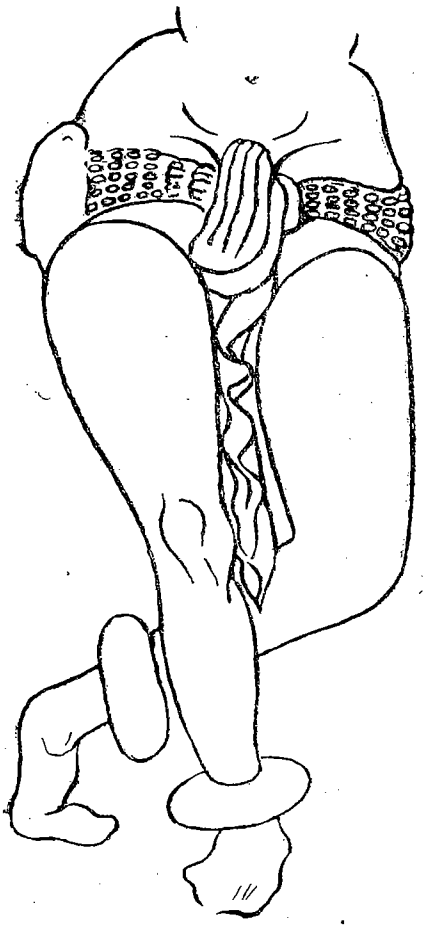


Fig. 10

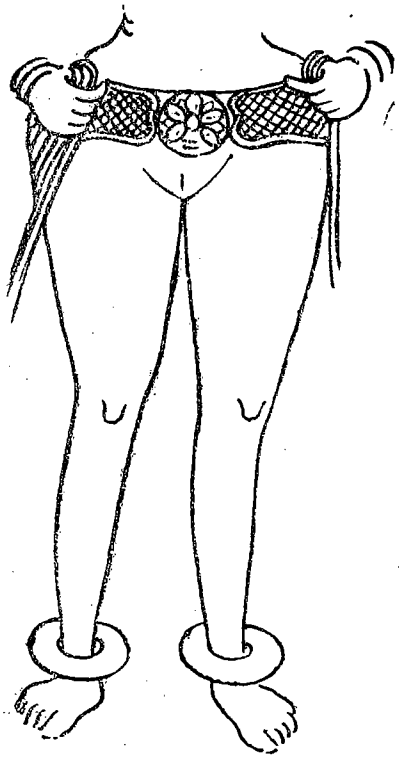


Fig. 11

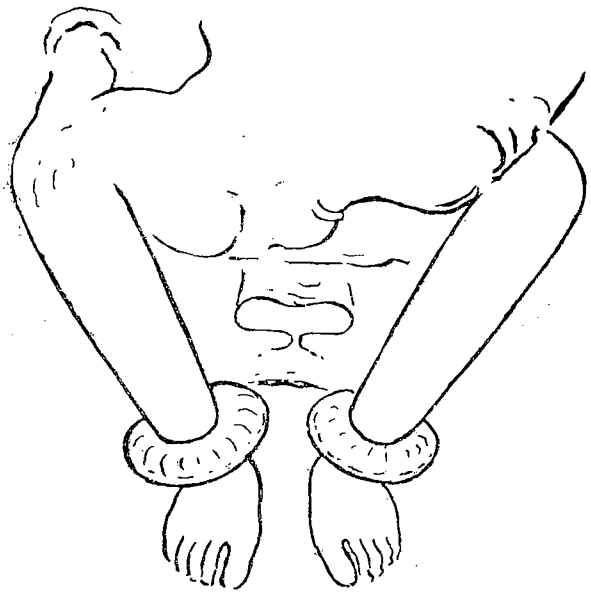


Fig. 12

Fig. 10. Anklets worn by Female Figure, Karle Cave (India), 1st century A.D.

Fig. 11. Anklets worn by Female Figure, Mathura Museum, Kushana Period.

Fig. 12. Anklets worn by Hariti-Sitala, Balaju 3rd century A. D.

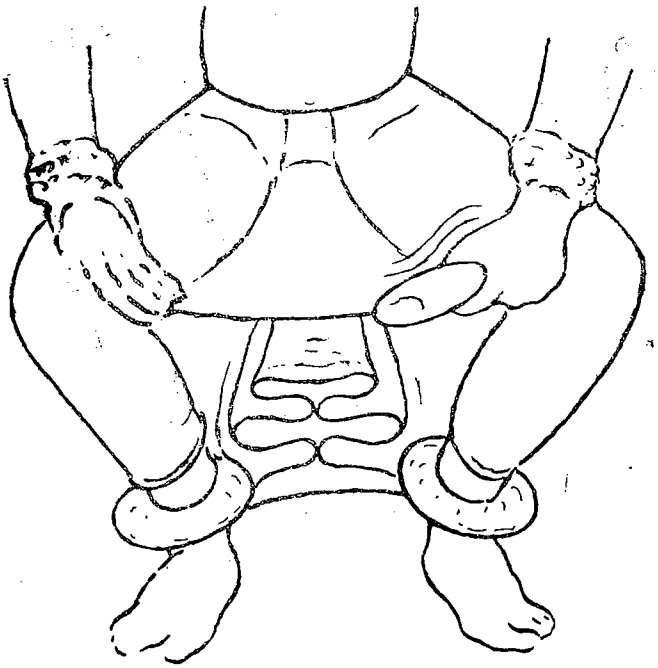


Fig. 13

Fig. 13. Anklets worn by Mother Goddess, Haugal Bahal, Patan, 2nd century A. D.

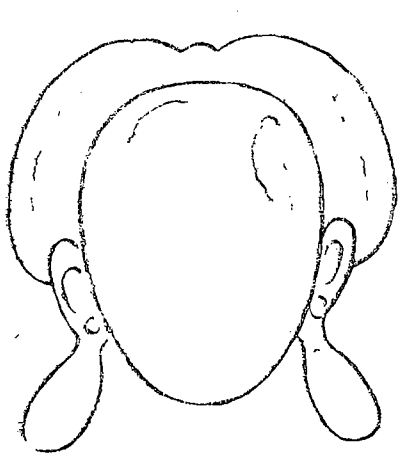


Fig. 14

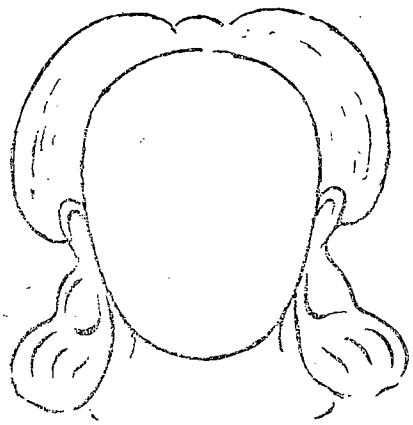


Fig. 15

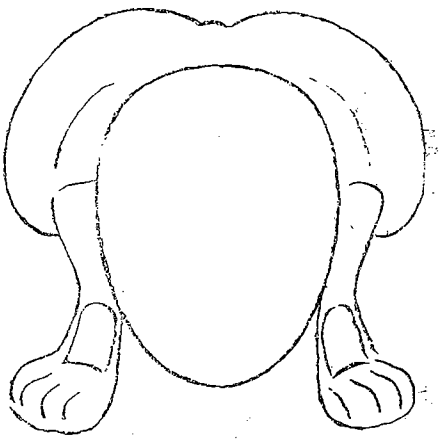


Fig. 16

Fig. 14. Hair-style of Gaja—Laksmi, Chyasaltol, Patan, 2nd century A.D.

Fig. 15. Hair-style of Mother Goddess, Kotaltol, Hadigaon, 2nd century A. D.

Fig. 16. Hair-style of Hariti-Sitala, Balaju, 3rd century A. D.

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'प्राचीन नेपाल'का निमित्त प्राग्-इतिहास तथा पुरातत्व, लिपिविज्ञान, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ, मुद्राशास्त्र, अभिलेख, संग्रहालय तथा ललितकलासंग सम्बन्धित मौलिक रचनाको माग गरिन्छ ।

रचना संक्षिप्त तर प्रामाणिक हुनुका साथै अद्यापि अप्रकाशित हुनु पर्दछ । तर कुनै प्रकाशित विषयका सम्बन्धमा नयाँ सिद्धान्त र प्रमाण प्रस्तुत गरिएको भए तिनको स्वागत गरिने छ ।

रचनासंग सम्बन्धित चित्रहरू पठाउन सकिने छ । रचना पृष्ठको अग्रभागमा मात्र लेखिएको हुनु पर्नेछ । प्रकाशित लेखहरूमा व्यक्त गरिएको भावना वा मत सम्बन्धित लेखकको हो ।

महानिर्देशक
पुरातत्व विभाग
रामशाहपथ
काठमाडौं, नेपाल

Contribution of original nature dealing with pre-historic and field-archaeology, epigraphy, manuscripts, numismatics, archives, art and architecture of Nepal and museum and other techniques connected with various aspects of our work are invited to 'Ancient Nepal.'

The contribution should be concise and well-documented, and based on hitherto unpublished data, if not new interpretation of already known evidence.

The opinions expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the editor or the Department of Archaeology.

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